

THE POEMS OF ALEXANDER POPE
VOLUME IV
IMITATIONS OF HORACE

The Twickenham Edition of the
Poems of Alexander Pope

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GENERAL EDITOR JOHN BUTT

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VOLUME I

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VOLUME IV

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SATIRES. John Butt, Lecturer in English, Bedford College,
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VOLUME V

THE DUNCIAD. James Sutherland, Professor of English,
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VOLUME VI

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS. Norman Ault

ALEXANDER POPE
IMITATIONS OF HORACE

With AN EPISILL TO DR ARBUHNOT
and THE EPILOGUE TO
THE SATIRES

Edited by
JOHN BULL



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PREFACE

THIS edition of Pope's *Imitations of Horace*, *An Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, and *The Epilogue to the Satires* is one volume in a series of six which will comprise the complete poetical works of Pope, excluding the translations of Homer. As in Messrs Methuen's editions of Shakespeare and Marlowe, each volume has been entrusted to a separate editor, and textual and critical notes are given on the same page as the text.

In the disposal of the poems it has been found advisable to depart from the arrangement which has been traditional since Warburton's first edition of 1751, in order to avoid discrepancy in the size of the volumes and in the importance of their contents. The first and second volumes contain the majority of the early poems which Pope collected in 1717, before he stooped to truth and moralized his song. In the third volume will be found all that was published of the great scheme of *Ethick Epistles*. Volume iv contains the *Imitations of Horace*—and here the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* and *The Epilogue to the Satires*, the most Horatian of Pope's original work, are most suitably placed—and volume v contains the two versions of *The Dunciad*, to which equal importance has been given for the first time, just as the earlier and later versions of *The Rape of the Lock* are given equal importance in volume ii. In order to deal adequately with the recent large additions to the canon of Pope's works, a separate volume has been allotted to his miscellaneous poems: there will be found most of his experiments in metres other than the heroic couplet, and there, incidentally, are two of the three poems by which he is represented in *The Golden Treasury* and *The Oxford Book of English Verse*.

The tendency in English editing has lately been to care for the text at the expense of the annotations. There is never any doubt of what words Pope wrote in a poem which is indubitably his; instead, the difficulty has sometimes been to decide which of the authentic readings Pope intended for his final choice. Warburton states in his preface that he had the advantage of printing the corrections which Pope had made in his last illness, and that by the terms of Pope's will he had been bequeathed the property of the poet's works to be

published "with out future alterations." Warburton's authority is occasionally suspect, but it is impossible to escape from it altogether. The editors have used their judgment and allowed the reader to use his by placing the alternative readings in the apparatus.

Warburton also states that he has "ornamented this Edition with all the advantages which the best Artists in Paper, Printing, and Sculpture could bestow upon it." The effect is that in the use of capital letters and italic type, Warburton's text differs from any text with which Pope was acquainted. Printing-house methods were changing throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the tendency being to use less italic type, especially in the large quarto editions of collected works, which are almost free from it. This has complicated the choice of an edition to be followed in its typographical usage, but full consideration has shown the advantage of following the typography of the first edition of each poem, except where more powerful reasons dictated otherwise. Where Pope has corrected the first edition, the typography of his corrections has been modified so as to accord with the printing-house practice, recognized then, and unmistakable now. It will be admitted that this is a matter of taste, about which a general agreement can never be reached. We prefer to see Pope in a dress of his own day rather than in the new style which Warburton chose for him. For the same reason, the punctuation of the earliest editions has been chosen. Punctuation changes whimsically between one edition and another, which suggests that Pope took little heed of it. This is what might be expected in the man who sneered at those editors who set commas and points exactly right. Consequently changes in type and in punctuation do not appear in the textual notes of this edition, except where the meaning is thereby changed; and printers' errors have also been excluded, for these have no interest for a student of poetry. The textual notes record only the readings rejected from the authorized editions.

The readings of Pope's manuscripts have been omitted from the textual notes, chiefly for reasons of space, but partly because they cannot be considered authoritative. These readings belong to the unformed, pre-natal history of the poems. They had definitely been rejected as unsatisfactory. Our chief regret in omitting them is that we have not catered for the student of poetical origins; the com-

mon reader, we think, will be sufficiently occupied with the printed variants.

As suggested above, the editors have paid special attention to the elucidation of Pope's works. The nature of his poetry presents two great difficulties to those who would appreciate it; much of it is made out of echoes and imitations of earlier poets, to whose ideas Pope gives better expression, and much of his wit is to be understood only from knowledge of the secret history of his time. Pope himself seems to have recognized these difficulties, for he has given the lead to his editors by noting some of the echoes in the *Essay on Criticism* and *The Rape of the Lock*, and by explaining allusions in such poems as *The Dunciad* and the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*. The lead was followed by his contemporaries: the Dublin publishers filled up the blank names in *The Dunciad* and other poems from what knowledge they possessed, the second Earl of Oxford, Horace Walpole, William Cole, and John Wilkes amused themselves by annotating their copies of the poems; and, in 1740, William Clarke and William Bowyer began to make arrangements for publishing a collection of Pope's imitations, but desisted for fear of displeasing Pope by discovering what they supposed to be his "plagiarisms" (Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, iv 429-37). Warburton explained some allusions and could have explained more. So too could Joseph Warton, who began to publish his garrulous notes in 1756, under the title of *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (vol. ii, 1782), and used them for his edition of 1797. Warton's energies, like those of Gilbert Wakefield,¹ his immediate predecessor, were directed towards collecting Pope's imitations, and from their ample collections all succeeding editors have borrowed. In the nineteenth century, Bowles (1806), Carruthers (1853), and Ward (1869) all did valuable work; but the most important edition, made possible by the researches of Dilke² and Croker, was that which was started by Elwin

1. His first volume was published in 1794; but finding that Warton was already engaged in an edition he desisted, but published a further volume of *Observations* in 1796. At the same time, Malone was working on an edition, which he relinquished for the same reason. His notes are in the Bodleian Library (MS. Malone 30).

2. Assembled in *The Papers of a Critic*, 1875. Croker's collections were handed over to Elwin when he commenced work on his edition.

in 1871, and concluded by Courthope in 1876. It is to be said that it has many defects, not the least of which is that it is a sympathetic attitude of Edwin the text is everywhere full of Pope's careful elisions, the collation of the MSS. and Pope's letters were put to but little use in the collation. Not in spite of this, there is a wealth of illustration and a vast amount of material in the notes, to which every intelligent scholar must necessarily be greatly indebted.

Since 1889 much has been discovered about Pope and his contemporaries, but the new material has not hitherto been incorporated in any complete edition of the poem. It is therefore the intention of the present editors to select all that is valuable from the work of their predecessors, and to add to it the discoveries which they themselves have made.

J. B.

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Page from Pope's autograph MS of the Ninth Ode of
the Fourth Book of Horace facing page 157

INTRODUCTION

THE poems in this volume, like those in vol. iii, were written under the influence of Bolingbroke. It was Bolingbroke who suggested the *Imitation of the First Satire of the Second Book of Horace*; it was Bolingbroke who was chosen to receive the *Imitation of Horace's Epistle to Maecenas* (Ep. i.), and it was Bolingbroke who inspired the "patriotism" of the *Epilogue to the Satires*.

The first *Imitation of Horace* was written in the latter part of January 1732-3, when Pope was confined to his room with a fever. One of his visitors was Bolingbroke, who happened to take up a *Horace* which lay on Pope's table, and in turning over the leaves, chanced upon the first satire of the second book. "He observed," said Pope, recounting the incident to Spence, "how well that would hit my case, if I were to imitate it in English. After he was gone, I read it over; translated it in a morning or two, and sent it to the press in a week or fortnight after. And this was the occasion of my imitating some other of the satires and epistles afterwards."¹ The poem was entered at Stationers' Hall on February 14, and two days later Pope wrote to Swift that he had sent him "another thing of mine, which is a parody from Horace, writ in two mornings." Its reception was encouraging. Pope was able to write to Caryll on March 8 that this "last piece of song" had "met with such a flood of favour, that my ears need no more flattery for this twelvemonth." He continued to speak of it, however, in the tone of disparagement which he had already adopted in a letter to Richardson,² telling Caryll that it was but "a slight thing, the work of two days."

Horace's poem is an introduction to the satires which follow, and is an apology for writing satire. The reason why such a poem hit Pope's case was that he was still alarmed by the outcry at his *Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington*, published in December 1731, and now known as the fourth Moral Essay. The portrait of *Timon* in that poem had been angrily proclaimed as a portrait of the Duke of Chandos, and though Pope denied it, he was not believed. The clamour made him anxious for the reception

1. *Anecdotes*, p. 297.

2. EC ix 301.

of *Of the Use of Rules*, *An Epistle to the Right Honourable The Lord Baltimore* the third Moral Essay, upon which he had been at work since January 1730-1. On January 22, 1731-2, he wrote to Lord Oxford that he had decided to suppress the poem for fear of malicious mis-interpretation, but by September he had changed his mind, and in December expressed his apprehension to Caryll of the "noise and columns" which would attend its publication. It was published at last in January 1732-3. All Pope's references to this poem in his letters suggest the importance which he attached to it, and it is clear that the "sneet" *Imitation of Horace* was intended as a rear-guard for this poem and the *Epistle to Lord Baltimore*. It should be read in close connection with them. His "too bold" attacks upon "wise *Peter*" and *Chartres* (ll. 3, 4) had been made in the third Moral Essay (ll. 20, 123); he had "ridiculed all *Taste*" (l. 38) in the fourth Moral Essay, and "blasphemed *Quadrille*" in the third (l. 76); he had abused one of "the City's best good Men" (l. 39) in the same poem (l. 101); he had made a "hundred smart in *Timon*" (l. 42) in the fourth Moral Essay (ll. 99 ff.), and in *Balaam* in the third (ll. 342-402); in the same poem he had castigated *Bond* (l. 100) and *Harpax* (l. 91); and the "Plums, and Directors, *Shylock* and his Wife," who are mentioned in l. 103 of the *Imitation*, had already been mentioned in ll. 94 and 117 of the third Moral Essay.

But it is not these references alone which connect the *Imitation* with the two Moral Essays. The *Imitation* is written in the same mood and in the same cause. In a letter written to Caryll on September 27, 1732, Pope had given an account of his studies: "they are directed," he wrote, "to a good end, the advancement of moral and religious virtue, and the disparagement of vicious and corrupt hearts. As to the former, I treat it with the utmost seriousness and respect. As to the latter, I think any means are fair and any method equal, whether preaching or laughing . . . I shall make living examples, which enforce best, and consequently put you once more upon the defence of your friend, against the roar and calumny which I expect, and am ready to suffer in so good a cause."¹ This is the mood in which the two Moral Essays were written; but these poems are more concerned with decrying false taste and the misuse

1. EC vi 334. 2. *ibid.*, 335. 3. cf. *Imit.* l. 117.

of riches than with expressing a sense of the righteous endeavour by which Pope was sustained. This he left for his apology, where in ll. 103-22 he gave exalted expression to his championship of Virtue.

Besides consolidating the position which he had taken up, Pope made some fresh attacks, of which two provoked replies. Lord Hervey, the vice-chamberlain and confidential adviser to the Queen, interpreted the reference to "Lord Fanny" in l. 6 as a reflection upon himself, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu supposed herself to be the "furious *Sappho*" of l. 83. These two were old acquaintances of Pope. Gay had pictured them both coming to welcome Pope on his return from Greece,¹ and Pope himself writes² of the friendship he had had with Hervey which was discontinued about the year 1725. With Lady Mary he had been intimate for many years, probably since 1715,³ and had been fascinated by her wit. They had been associated in the trouble which arose when Curll published an unauthorized edition of *Court Poems* in 1716⁴ and while Lady Mary was travelling in the East between 1716 and 1718 Pope addressed her numerous letters of a romantic and perhaps imaginary passion. After her return, in the early 1720's, Lady Mary came to live near Pope at Twickenham, and the friendship began to cool. She wrote to Lady Mar (?1722, *Letters*, ii 461) that she saw Pope very seldom and therefore could only repeat what she had heard about the progress of the grotto. The occasion of the eventual rupture is obscure. It has been ascribed⁵ to Lady Mary's receiving Pope's declaration of love with an immoderate fit of laughter. This is plausible. It is "in character," and it provides an adequate explanation of what was to follow. Pope himself said⁶ that he had left Lady Mary's company because she had too much wit for him, a statement which it is not impossible to reconcile with a MS. variant of the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, ll. 368-9:

1. *Mr Pope's Welcome from Greece*, 1720, v 8.

2. *Letter to a Noble Lord* (*Works*, 1751, viii 257, 278).

3. Sherburn, p. 203.

4. See N. Ault's account in *The Prose Works of Alexander Pope* (1936) i xciv-cvi.

5. By Lady Mary's grand-daughter (*Letters*, i 92).

6. *Letter to a Noble Lord*, p. 259. In a letter to Fortescue, September 13, 1729? EC ix 111, Pope writes, "my only fault towards her [Lady Mary] was, leaving off her conversation when I found it dangerous."

Once, and but once, his heedle youth was hit
And lik'd that dang'rous thing, a lewd wit

and with the account which Lady Mary gave to Spence in 1740.¹ I got a common friend to ask Mr Pope, why he had left off visiting me: he answered negligently, that he went as often as he used to do - I then got Dr Arbuthnot to ask him, What Lady M. had done to him? - He said, that Lady M. and Lord Hervey had pressed him once together - and I don't remember that we were ever together with him in our lives, to write a Satire on some certain persons, that he refused it - and that this had occasioned the breach between us."²

To date the stages of the quarrel's progress is almost as difficult as to determine its occasion. There is printed evidence that by 1728 the rupture was complete. In March Pope and Swift published the "Last" volume of their *Miscellanies*, in which they included a coarse poem entitled *The Capon's Tale*, charging Lady Mary with repudiating her poems when she no longer found it convenient to own them.³ The authorship is uncertain, but Pope would scarcely have allowed it to be published in a volume for which he was in part responsible unless he had already done with civility. Any remaining doubt about his feelings for her was dispelled by the publication of *The Dunciad* in the following May. In Book ii, ll. 115-16, Pope mentioned the predicament in which Lady Mary found herself with Rémond (see *Dia.* i 112n):

Whence hapless Monsieur much complains at *Paris*
Of wrongs from Duchesses and Lady *Marys*

If Lady Mary retorted she took more pains than Pope to preserve anonymity. The following month, June 1728, Pope was attacked in a squib entitled *A Popp upon Pope*, which announced that he had been barbarously whipped while innocently walking in Ham Walks (see *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 349n). The report was false, and Pope immediately issued a denial. There is no evidence now available to

1. *Anecdotes*, p. 235. Pope seems to imply this, when explaining in *A Letter to a Noble Lord* (p. 259) why he had discontinued his acquaintance with Lord Hervey and Lady Mary: "I assure you my reason for so doing, was merely that you had both *too much wit* for me; and that I could not do, with *mine*, many things which you could do with *yours*."

2. Sherburn, pp. 206-7.

show who had written it, but Pope believed it to be Lady Mary's, and so it was reported in the *Grub-street Journal*, No. 20. Nor was this the only attack. On September 13 '1729' Pope wrote to Fortescue saying that he had complained to Walpole that Lady Mary was libelling him,¹ and he also seems to have thought that she had a hand in Welsted's and Moore Smythe's *One Epistle to Mr Pope*,² published in the early summer of 1730.

Pope's revenge for these attacks was the notorious couplet (ll. 63-4, in the first *Imitation*, in poor taste if judged by later standards, but not more severe than many of the attacks on his own person. There can be no doubt that Pope had Lady Mary in mind when he wrote the couplet, and she too thought that the description was intended for her. In the circumstances it would have been wise to have taken no notice, but unfortunately the Town also recognized her as *Sappho*. Hereupon she enlisted Hervey's help in composing a ferocious reply, entitled *Verses addressed to the Imitator of Horace*, which was published in the following month, March 1733, and at the same time represented her wrongs to Peterborough, as a friend of Pope, and to Walpole. Peterborough's reply was a masterly rebuke:

"Madame,

I was very unwilling to have my name Made use of in an affair in which I had noe concern, and therefore would not engage my self to speak to Mr Pope, but he coming to my house the moment you went away, I gave him as exact an account as I could of our conversation. He said to me what I had taken ye Liberty to say to you, that he wonderd how the Town could apply those Lines to any but some noted common woeman, yt he should yett be more surprised if you should take them to your Self, He named to me fower remarkable poetesses & scribblers, Mrs Centlivre Mrs Haywood Mrs Manly & Mrs Been, Ladies famous indeed in their generation, and some of them Esteemed to have given very unfortunate favours to their Friends, assuring me yt such only were ye objects of his satire.

"I hope this assurance will prevent your further mistake, and any

1. EC ix 110. I am indebted for the suggested date to Professor Sherburn.

2. See *Grub-street Journal*, May 21, 1730.

consequences, upon a subject I have than I meet to do
Your Ladyships
most humble & obedient servant
Peterborey.¹

Lady Mary got little more satisfaction from Walpole. He used, as a messenger his friend Pope's friend Fortescue, to whom the *Verses* was addressed. Fortescue's letters no longer survive, but Pope's replies suggest what they contained. Evidently Walpole asked that the offending couplet should be erased, for on March 8, 1732, Pope wrote to Fortescue:

"Your most kind letter was a sensible pleasure to me, and the friendship and concern shown in it, to suggest what you thought might be agreeable to a person whom you know. I would not disoblige, I take particularly kindly. But the affair in question of any alteration is now at an end, by that lady's having taken her own satisfaction in an avowed libel, so fulfilling the veracity of my prophecy."

Being unable to make Pope withdraw the couplet, Walpole appears to have bound him over to keep the peace. Pope's reply (March 18) to the letter in which Fortescue announced this reads as follows: ". . . You may be certain I shall never reply to such a libel as Lady Mary's. It is a pleasure and comfort at once to find, that with so much mind as so much malice must have to accuse or blacken my character, it can fix upon no one ill or immoral thing in my life, and must content itself to say, my poetry is dull, and my person ugly. I wish you would take an opportunity to represent to the person who spoke to you about that lady, that her conduct no way deserves encouragement from him, or any other great persons; and that the good name of a private subject ought to be as sacred, even to the highest, as his behaviour towards them is irreproachable, legal, and respectful. What you writ of his intimation on that head, shall never pass my lips."²

Pope kept his word. He published no full-length reply to the *Verses addressed to the Imitator of Horace*, except in the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, which is by no means confined to answering Lady Mary; but he

1. B. M. Egerton MS. 1949 f. 5. The letter, which is inscribed "For the Lady Mary Wortley," is undated.

2. EC misplaces the letter under the year 1732 instead of 1732-3.

was never tired of gauding her in poem after poem, as *Sappho* again (*Moral Ls.* ii 24; *Donne* ii 6, *Dia* i 15, as *Andriæ's* wife (*Sat.* ii 49)), as *Euphrosia* (*S. b. Ad.* 18), and without disguise (*S. b. Ad.* 2, 53, 125, 166), *J. p.* i 164, *Dia* i 112. He could never quite dismiss her from his mind. On January 1, 1741-2, he wrote to Hugh Bethel:

"... You mention the Fame of my old Acquaintance Lady Mary as spread over Italy. Neither you delight in telling, nor I in hearing, the Particulars which acquire such a Reputation; yet I wish you had just told me, if the Character be more *Atrocious*, or *Anatoly*? and which Passion has got ye better at last?"¹ And till the end of his life, he kept portraits of her on his walls at Twickenham.²

It was unwise of Lord Hervey to allow himself to become implicated in Lady Mary's revenge. The reference to *Lord Fanny* in line 6 of Pope's *Imitation* is mild, and though the name may have been meant to be applied to Hervey, there is nothing in the context to make the application certain, as Pope pointed out in his *Letter to a Noble Lord*. In fact, Hervey was being treated no more severely than Sir William Yonge, Bubb Dodington, Selkirk, or any other leading Whig. Just as Yonge was for Pope a type of fatuous orator, Hervey was a type of effeminate courtier-poet. They were public men and legitimate objects of satire. There is no need to look for Pope's deep-seated grudges, because in all probability they did not exist. Pope and Hervey had once been on friendly terms; they were friends no longer; and this seems to have been owing to some fancied slight which Pope detected in Hervey's bearing towards him.³ Such a slight might account for such a casual reference as "Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a day." It could not account for *Sporus*. And Pope might never have reached the stage of quivering resentment which fathered *Sporus* if Hervey had not entered into his ill-fated partnership with Lady Mary.

What help Hervey gave to Lady Mary in the *Verses addressed to the Imitator of Horace* is uncertain. Pope himself would not pretend "to determine the exact method of this *Witty Fornication*"⁴; but "whoever got it", Hervey "*brought it forth*." His own unaided work was no less scurrilous. *An Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity from a Nobleman*

1. B. M. Egerton MS. 1948 f. 52v.

2. Sherburn, p. 208.

3. *A Letter to a Noble Lord*, p. 259.

4. *ibid.*, p. 265.

at *Hervey's* letter was written in August 1733, and published anonymously by its recipient, Dr Sturmy, in November. Pope accepted Hervey's authorship and sent Arbuthnot to inquire to what Hervey declared that Pope "was a rascal, had forgiven me, and deserved it, and that my only reason for being sorry the verses were printed, which I did not design they should be, was because I thought it below me to enter into a paper war with one that had made himself by his late works as contemptible as he was odious."¹ Soon after, he wrote to his friend Stephen Fox (December 6, 1733), "Pope is in a most violent fury and j'en suis ravi."²

The first reply which Pope projected was in prose and entitled *A Letter to a Noble Lord* (November 30, 1733), but after showing it to a few people Pope told Swift in a letter written on January 6, 1734, that he had decided to suppress it. The reason for his action, according to Horace Walpole, was that an abbey had been procured from Cardinal Fleury for his friend Southcote by Sir Robert and Horatio Walpole, who then desired him to suppress his *Letter* (*Correspondence*, ed. Toynbee, iii 57). It was first published in the eighth volume of Warburton's first edition (1751). But a public reply was not long delayed. In June 1734 he was paying a round of visits to his friends' houses. On the 27th, Bolingbroke wrote to Swift that Pope was then with Lord Bathurst at Cirencester. At the end of July he moved to Lord Peterborough's house near Southampton, and wrote to Arbuthnot on August 2 that he was studying and writing there.

Arbuthnot was suffering from the disease which killed him, and the seriousness of his condition roused him to make a last request from Pope: he begged that Pope would continue his disclaim and

1. *Memoirs*, p. xlv.

2. *ibid.*, p. xlv.

3. Charles Yorke borrowed the *Letter* from Warburton in 1747 and read it to his sister. Miss Yorke told her brother Philip that it "was sent printed instead of written, wch gave great apprehensions that it was intended for the perusal of the public" (Harris, *Life of Hardwicke*, 1847, li 353). Warburton corroborates this (see Griffith 1 li 393), but it conflicts with Hervey's statement to Henry Fox (*Memoirs*, p. xlv), "Pope himself has not written one word, but a manuscript in prose never printed, which he has shown to several of his friends, but which I have never seen."

4. EC vii 332.

abhorrence of vice, and manifest it still in his writings. Pope replied that he would indeed do it with more restrictions and less personally, since this was more agreeable to his nature; but nowadays, he added, there was no force in general satire, and therefore some men had to be pilloried as examples to others.¹ This answer made Arbuthnot fear for Pope's safety; and accordingly, he sent him some advice on the avoiding of ill will from writing satire. Such advice from an old friend, written in what was likely to be his last illness, so much affected Pope that he wrote in reply on August 25: "I determine to address to you one of my Epistles, written by piecemeal many years, & wch I have now made haste to put together; wherein the Question is stated, what were, & are my Motives of writing, the objections to them, & my answers. It pleases me much to take this occasion of testifying (to ye public at least, if not to Posterity) my Obligation & Friendship for, & from, you, for so many years; that is all that's in it; for Compliments are fulsome & go for nothing."²

That is the first reference to the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*. Writing from Southampton on September 3, Pope was able to inform Arbuthnot that the poem was finished, but it was not published until January 2, 1734-5. The delay between the completion of the poem and its publication is puzzling but not beyond conjecture. Pope returned to Twickenham in the second week of September and set out for Bath a few days later with Bolingbroke.³ He was back again in Twickenham at the beginning of October, "in my garden, amused and easy," as he wrote to Fortescue (October 5); yet he must have been putting the finishing touches to the *Characters of Women* and revising his poems for the second collected volume of his works to be published in the following year, an intention which he had already mentioned to Swift on September 15. In this volume the *Second Satire of Dr John Donne* was published for the first time; it is just possible that the volume was also to contain the "first edition" of the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, but that Pope later changed his mind and or-

1. The ethics of personal satire so much interested Pope that he wrote an elaborate defence and published it in the Quarto of 1737 as a reply to Arbuthnot's letter of July 17, 1734, suppressing the reply which he actually sent. Arbuthnot by that time was dead. See also *Dia.* ii 100 and following lines.

2. Aitken's *Life of Arbuthnot*, p. 152; the text is reproduced from Pope's MS.

3. Pope and Bolingbroke to Swift, September 15, 1734.

dered the publication of a separate edition. At the same time, however, he was aware of his own weakness, and the fear that the *Collected Works* might not be published before he died may have prompted him to make the present edition. Such a hypothesis does some things to account for the differences between the text of the separate edition and that of the collected edition.¹

The account of the poem which Pope gave to Arbuthnot is not comprehensive. He deals with his motive for writing it, pp. 173-90, and 334-79, objections to his motive, pp. 173-90, and 334-79, answered in ll. 77, 108, 305-9, and 360-7, and the nature of his relation and friendship for Arbuthnot in ll. 27-31, 104, 334-41. A better summary could be taken from a letter to Caryll, December 31, 1734, in which Pope describes the poem as a "poem dictated to him from slanders of all sorts, and slanderers of what rank or quality they soever." This description includes both "the *Burnet*, *Osbornes* and *Cookes*" and Lord Hervey and Lady Mary, though it seems to refer more particularly to these last. In fact Pope tells us in his Advertisement that he had no thoughts of publishing the poem until he was attacked by the authors of *Verses to the Imitator of Horace* and of *An Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity from a Nobleman at Hampton Court*. Much of the poem must have been written in consequence of these attacks; but this statement certainly shows that Pope had them principally in mind when he was putting the poem into its final shape in August 1734. This need not conflict with what has been quoted from his correspondence with Arbuthnot. Probably Arbuthnot's last request and his advice upon avoiding ill will gave cohesion to the miscellaneous snatches of attack and defence which Pope had already written by suggesting a suitable theme from which they could arise. Lord Hervey got more than he deserved in *Sporus*, Lady Mary was made to wince again at the references to *Sappho*, and "His Father, Mother, Body, Soul, and Muse," abused by "the two *Curls* of Town and Court," are defended throughout the poem and in the notes which accompany it.

Pope told Arbuthnot that the poem had been "written by piecemeal many years"; he told the same story to Swift, "I redeem now and then," he wrote, on December 19, 1734, "a paper that has been abandoned several years; and of this sort you will soon see one,

1. These differences are discussed in a note on the text at pp. 92 ff.

which I inscribe to our old friend Arbuthnot"; and he repeated it again in the *Advertisement*. It is impossible to say how much of the poem is old work and how much is new. Certain passages we know were written some years earlier.

1. ll. 171-214. Part of this passage, ll. 171-6, 193-214, was occasioned by the famous quarrel with Addison,¹ was probably sketched in the summer of 1717 and sent to Addison a year later. It was first printed, probably without Pope's permission, in *The St James's Journal* on December 17, 1722, and occasionally reprinted in this form; but it was not until 1727 that Pope made some show of owning it, by printing a version of ll. 171-214 with the title *Fragment of a Satire* in the Pope-Swift *Miscellany*.² Seven years later Pope found a more suitable and permanent place for this "bill of complaint" amongst the other bills in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*. While revising the lines he made an attempt to generalize the satire, reflecting no doubt that the quarrel was now a thing of the distant past and that Addison had been in his grave for fifteen years. Accordingly he substituted the pseudonym *Athicus* in l. 214 and omitted the only couplet which directly referred to the cause of the quarrel:

Who, if two Wits on rival Themes contest,
Approves of each, but likes the worst the best.

But the process of generalization was not completed; ll. 198 and 209 lose much of their point if deprived of their Addisonian context.³

(2) An abbreviated version of ll. 289-304 had been published as an imitation of Horace (*Sat.* i iv 81-5) in the *London Evening Post*⁴ on January 22-5, 1731-2.

(3) Pope's mother had died in June 1733, eighteen months before the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* was published, but ll. 406-19, which describe Pope's vigil at his mother's bed had been written during her lifetime. A version of them is to be found in a letter from Pope to

1. A brief account of Pope's relations with Addison will be found in the Biographical Appendix. For a fuller treatment, see Sherburn, pp. 111-48, and a valuable appendix to it by A. E. Case, *Pope, Addison, and the "Athicus" Lines* (*Modern Philology*, 1935, xxxiii 187-93).

2. This version is printed with Pope's other "occasional" poems in vol. vi.

3. See footnotes to these lines.

4. I am indebted to Professor Sherburn for pointing this out to me.

First Book in January, *The Sixth Satire of the Second Book* in July. The *First Epistle of the First Book* in March. The second *Epistle of the First Book* was first published in an octavo volume of the *Works* in 1749, part II, in 1749,¹ and the fragment of *The Sixth Satire of the First Book* appeared posthumously in Walpole's *Letters* in 1750. These are all that have survived, but Pope left 34 *Satires* that he had imitated more than are printed, 12 of them in part of the fourth satire of the second book, and he added, "But to this list from Lord Bolingbroke, I had translated the first satire of the first book. But that was done several years ago, and in quite a different manner. It was much closer, and more like a close translation."* This has not yet been found. Possibly it is the poem referred to by the author of *A True Character of Mr Pope, and His Writings* (1716), who rated his "present Imitation of HORACE" as the most execrable of all his performances.

Pope was doing nothing unusual in attempting to adapt ancient poetry to modern times. Johnson supposed² that Oldham³ and Rochester⁴ were the first to practise this way of writing in English. Oldham indeed shows consciousness of doing what had not been done before. After apologizing in his preface for offering one more version of the *Ars Poetica* when the public already possessed Ben Jonson's and Roscommon's, he continues:

"... Wherefore, being prevail'd upon to make an Essay, I fell to thinking of some course, whereby I might serve my self of the Advantages, which those, that went before me, have either not minded, or scrupulously abridg'd themselves of. This I soon imagin'd was to be effected by putting *Horace* into a more modern dress than

1. Griffith No. 507. The date on the title page is 1736.

2. *Anecdotes*, p. 298.

3. *Lives of the Poets*, iii 176.

4. *Imitations of Horace, Sat. 1 ix, (Od. 1 xxxi, 11 xiv, Ars Poetica; Juvenal, Sat. 111 and xiii.* Pope had studied Oldham's poetry. A copy of the *Works* (1692), which he bought in 1700, is now in the British Museum (C 45 a 1). It contains a few MS. comments, and a list of five poems which Pope considered "The most Remarkable Works in this Author." Amongst these is the imitation of Horace *Sat. 1 ix*, which Pope was later to imitate at a further remove through Donne's *Fourth Satire*. He may have remembered one of Oldham's phrases (see l. 116a), though otherwise he shows no indebtedness. But see his borrowings from Oldham in the fourth *Pastoral passim* (vol. i).

5. An Imitation of Horace, *Sat. 1 x.*

hitherto he has appear'd in, that is, by making him speak, as if he were living and writing now. I therefore resolv'd to alter the Scene from *Rome* to *Lond'.*, and to make use of *English* names of Men, Places, and Customs, where the Parallel would decently permit, which I conceiv'd would give a kind of new Air to the Poem, and render it more agreeable to the relish of the present Age. . . . I have not, I acknowledge, been over-nice in keeping to the words of the Original, for that were to transgress a Rule therein contained. Nevertheless I have been religiously strict to its sense, and express it in as plain, and intelligible a manner, as the Subject would bear. Where I may be thought to have varied from it. . . the skilful Reader will perceive 'twas necessary for carrying on my propos'd design."¹ But we need not credit one man with an innovation which must have occurred simultaneously to many. This was a time when men approved of spirited translations, from which "imitations" were the inevitable development. The literalness of such work as Ben Jonson's version of the *Art Poetica* was beginning to be disparaged, and instead translators attempted to make their author "speak that kind of English, which he would have spoken had he lived in England, and had written to this age."² This manner of translation had been discussed by Denham³ and Cowley,⁴ who allowed themselves considerable freedom in their renderings; but its most distinguished (and more moderate) exponent, both in theory and practice, was Dryden. "All translation," he wrote, in the preface to the translation of Ovid's *Epistles* (1680),⁵ "may be reduced to these three heads. First, that of metaphrase, or turning an author word by word, and line by line, from one language into another. . . . The second way is that of paraphrase, or translation with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense. . . . The third way is that of imitation, where the translator (if now he has not lost that name) assumes the liberty, not only to vary from the words and

1. Advertisement to his imitation of the *Art Poetica*, 1681. The original is printed in italic.

2. Dryden's *Essays*, ii 113.

3. *To Sir Richard Fanshawe upon his translation of Pastor Fido*; preface to *The Destruction of Troy*.

4. Preface to the *Pindarique Odes*.

5. *Essays*, i 237.

crisis, but to make them both a necessity and a pleasure, only a compromise, but a compromise which would be the ground-work, as he put it.¹ Characteristically, Dryden is positioned between the two extremes. He appeared to appreciate and understand both the literalness of Jonson and what he considered the excessive freedom of Cowley and Denham. But he could not bring himself to check the writing of "imitations." If the minor poets needed any authority to counterpoise against Dryden, it was not the expected Bouleau's success in imitating the satire and epittyle of Horace, but probably they did not feel the need, for they were writing in conformity with the spirit of the times, a spirit which impelled men to consolidate their heritage from the past and to make it more accessible to their fellows. "Wit and fine writing," Addison wrote,² "doth not consist so much in advancing things that are new, as in giving things that are known an agreeable turn. It is impossible for us, who live in the latter Ages of the world, to make observations in criticism, morality, or in any art or science, which have not been touched upon by others. We have little else left us, but to represent the common sense of mankind in more strong, more beautiful, or more uncommon lights." This passage expresses the spirit in which "imitations" were undertaken. Pope himself had expressed it even more concisely a few months before:

True wit is nature to advantage dress'd;
What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd.³

When Pope started upon his *Imitations of Horace*, then, he was writing in accordance with the spirit of the age, and in a form as clearly recognized as the pastoral.⁴ The story already quoted of

1. "Imitations" are to be found amongst the poems of Congreve, Dennis, Diaper, Duke, Fenton, Hughes, King, Prior, Rowe, Stepmoy, Swift, Tickell, Walsh, Ward, and Wood. This list does not pretend to be complete, but it indicates the popularity of the form amongst Pope's contemporaries and immediate predecessors.

2. *Spectator*, No. 233.

3. *Eos C*, II, 297-8.

4. A critical anticipation of Pope's *Imitations of Horace* is to be found in Shaftesbury's *Advice to an Author* (1710) pt II section II—further evidence, if any is needed, that Pope's form can have caused no surprise to his contemporaries: "The only Manner left, in which Criticism can have its just Force amongst us, is

Bolingbroke picking up a Horace which lay upon Pope's bedroom table is misleading if it suggests that the *Imitations* were the result of a lucky accident. Leaving out of account the force that tradition and the spirit of the age could exert, it is evident that Pope had been a translator and an imitator all his life. He told Spence that as a boy he read eagerly through a great number of English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek poets, not with any system, but dipping in here and there, and whenever he met with a passage or story that especially pleased him, he used to endeavour to imitate it or translate it into English; "this," he said, "gave rise to my *Imitations* published so long after."¹ It was by these translations and imitations that he shaped his own original work. "My first taking to imitating," he told Spence, "was not out of vanity, but humility: I saw how defective my own things were; and endeavoured to mend my manner, by copying good strokes from others."² This, according to his own account, must have been evident in his first extensive poem, an epic of 4,000 lines on Alexander, Prince of Rhodes, which he kept by him until 1722, when he burnt it on Atterbury's advice. "I endeavoured in this poem," he said, "to collect all the beauties of the great epic writers into one piece: there was Milton's style in one part, and Cowley's in another; here the style of Spenser imitated, and there of Statius; here Homer and Virgil, and there Ovid and Claudian."³

This is most revealing, for the account of Pope's method in this early poem is to a smaller extent true of his method in his maturer work. In spite of the unmistakable individuality of his writing, the reader is constantly made aware of the inspiration which Pope drew from the forms, the styles, and the thoughts of previous poets. Indeed, much of the pleasure of reading Pope is lost if the reader is

the ancient Comick; of which kind were the first Roman Miscellany, or *Satirick Pieces* . . . And if our Home-Wits wou'd refine upon this Pattern, they might perhaps meet with considerable Success." Even if he had not read this, Pope must certainly have noticed the passage in Creech's preface to his translation of Horace (1684) where he relates that he had been advised to "turn the *Satyrs* to our own Times" by some who observed that "*Rome* was now rivall'd in her Vices, and Parallels for Hypocrisie, Profaneness, Avarice and the like were easie to be found."

1. *Anecdotes*, p. 193. 2. *ibid.*, p. 278. 3. *ibid.*, p. 277.

may do. These imitations are not, of course, meant to be taken literally, but the Pope's attitude toward them is very clear. He is not trying to imitate Horace's style, but to imitate his spirit. He is not trying to imitate Horace's words, but to imitate his ideas. He is not trying to imitate Horace's form, but to imitate his content. He is not trying to imitate Horace's language, but to imitate his thought. He is not trying to imitate Horace's style, but to imitate his spirit. He is not trying to imitate Horace's words, but to imitate his ideas. He is not trying to imitate Horace's form, but to imitate his content. He is not trying to imitate Horace's language, but to imitate his thought.

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There are three subjects to which Pope keeps on returning in these imitations: autobiography, literary criticism, and politics. Presumably he selected for imitation those poems which most nearly "hit his case," and if he reproduced something of Horace's scepticism and epicureanism, it was because he recognized the sceptic and epicurean in himself. These were Pope's own opinions. He was not translating. There was no occasion for him to have imitated these poems of Horace unless he thought that what Horace said of himself could be made to apply to his imitator also. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that in imitation, loose as it is, limits are defined, and by keeping within them Pope has occasionally created a false impression. For example, the resemblance between Latin and English literary history is sufficiently close to make an imitation of Horace's *Epistle to Augustus* tempting, but the resemblance breaks down at certain points and even Pope's ingenuity was insufficient to maintain the parallel. These passages, and those where other evidence gives reason to suppose that Pope misrepresented his own view of life by following Horace's words too closely, are indicated in the footnotes to the present edition.

Pope's political reflection are also annotated. But whereas the reader may easily comprehend Pope's philosophy of life and books, so far as it is represented in this volume, without an editorial interpreter, he may well feel the need of a statement about Pope's politics and the political struggles of his time. The poems printed in this volume were written during the decline of Walpole's power. He had been chief minister, with one brief interruption, since 1721. The virtues of his rule—his sound financial policy, his refusal to involve the country in European war—have appeared more commendable to historians than to many of his contemporaries, statesmen seeking for office, idealists shocked at the spread of corruption in and out of parliament, country gentlemen, some of them still with Jacobite sympathies, chafing at the land-tax, merchants impatient because the government was not taking action against the Spanish guarda-costas who attacked their ships. Nevertheless Walpole's position was secure, partly because Queen Caroline—and therefore George II—had confidence in him, partly because he and the Duke of Newcastle knew how to manage the elections, partly because he met with no effectual opposition in Parliament.

The Tories had been out of countenance since Queen Anne's death. One of their leaders, the Earl of Oxford, had been committed to the Tower, and the other, Viscount Bolingbroke, had been impeached, and they themselves were divided. One group, led by Shippen, was openly Jacobite in sympathy, the other, led by Wyndham, lately converted from Jacobitism, retained the old policy of the Hanover Tories. From time to time the numbers of the opposition were increased by discontented Whigs. Of these the earliest adherents were Carteret, Barnard, a financial expert of great ability, and the two Pulteneys, William, brilliant in debate but hesitating in policy, and Daniel who alone seems to have recognized the essential weakness of the Opposition, its factiousness. He applied himself to organizing the Opposition, a work which was far from complete at his death in 1731. In this he had received assistance from Bolingbroke, who had returned to England in 1723, pardoned, but not restored to his seat in the House of Lords. Bolingbroke knew that he could never regain power except by Walpole's defeat. Being excluded from Parliament, he commenced a press campaign against Walpole in 1726. His journal was *The Craftsman*, edited by Nicholas Amhurst. With the help of the two Pulteneys, he main-

timed response to a remark about the opposition's lack of an attack which Perceval is later to use in the House of Commons against the *Satire*. At the same time, Bolingbroke's *Letters* were read by Wyndham, Bolingbroke was elected to the opposition, and the re-election of the Opposition in the House of Commons. The Opposition's first success was the repeal of Walpole's *Act of Trade* in April 1733.¹

Then prospects had never looked better. Walpole's position was weaker at court as a result of his defeat. Perceval's influence was increased in the House of Lords² by a group of disaffected Whigs of whom the most important were Chesterfield, Col. Fitz-Simon and Marchmont; and a general election was close at hand. The Tories thought Walpole could scarcely last six months.³

To maintain the Opposition's advantage, Bolingbroke started (October 1733) a series of essays in *The Craftsman*, entitled *A Dissertation on Parties*. The time had now passed, he declared, when differences existed between Whigs and Tories, for honest men of both parties accepted the principles of the Revolution as a statement of political orthodoxy.⁴ They must, therefore, unite against the common enemy, who is fostering corruption,⁵ who is endeavouring to make a standing army in time of peace a part of the constitution,⁶ who is concealing frauds and screening the fraudulent at the risk of ruining credit and destroying trade,⁷ who is allowing a few men to monopolize the wealth of the whole nation,⁸ who is prostituting the dignity and pawning the purse of Britain by entangling her with European powers who offer no reciprocal engagements. Bolingbroke could be trusted to provide a bankrupt Opposition with political philosophy and electioneering slogans. Such assistance was more grateful to the Tories than to Whigs like Carteret and Pulteney, who were in less need of philosophy because they had

1. See *Sat.* II ii 134r.

2. Until Carteret returned from Ireland in 1730, there was no use of outstanding ability amongst the Opposition Lords.

3. Chesterfield to Baron Torck, October 14, 1733. *Letters*, ed. Dobrée, II 277.

4. cf. *Dis.* I 8; II 96.

5. cf. *Dis.* I 159-70.

6. cf. *Sat.* II i 73; *Sat.* II ii 154.

7. cf. *Dis.* I 22.

8. cf. *Ep.* I i 77-133.

more hope of supplanting Walpole without disturbing his system. The essential cleavage between the two parties of the Opposition was made clear when in March 1733 the Towns, urged by Bolingbroke, moved the repeal of the Septennial Act, and lost their motion largely because of the opposition of Pulteney and his followers.

The General Election followed immediately, but it was a year too late for the Opposition. The Excise scare had subsided and Walpole had retained his ascendancy. He was returned with a slightly decreased majority in the Commons, but with more supporters in the Lords, and though Chesterfield retained his optimism for another year,¹ it was clear to Bolingbroke that Walpole was as strong as ever. He retired to France in 1735. His reflections on the events of 1733-4 may be read in *A Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism* (1736), one more essay written to unify Walpole's opponents: "In parliament," he wrote, "the opposition was strenuously enough supported for a time; but there was so little disposition to guide and improve the spirit, that the chief concern of those who took the lead seemed applied to keep it down."²

The new parliament was brightened by the election of Pope's friends, Lyttelton and Polwarth; and a year later William Pitt was also returned for the first time. These young Whigs, who formed the nucleus of the "boy patriots" from whom Pope expected so much, had absorbed Bolingbroke's political philosophy and were inspired with a zealous idealism to make an end of corruption. Of the intentions of Carteret and Pulteney they--and Wyndham, too--became increasingly distrustful, and instead they began to place more reliance upon the Prince of Wales. Ever since he had come to England in 1728, the Prince had been at loggerheads with his father. George II's refusal to provide his son with a sufficient allowance increased the tension which naturally existed between the Hanoverian kings and their heirs; for so long as the Prince "remained on terms with the King he was a nonentity, excluded from all share in the government of the country, . . . but let him break with the King, and he became at once a political force of the first importance, the terror of his parent as the head of the body regarded not as His

1. Letters to Marchmont, August 27, 1734; to Torck, February 14, 1735; *Letters*, ed. Dobrée, li 289, 299.

2. *Works*, 1734, iii 12.

Majesty's Opposition, but as the opposition to His Majesty. . . . By so doing he performed the constitutional equivalent of heading an insurrection against his father, who was thereby exposed to the danger of being taken prisoner by his son."¹

It came to Hervey's ears in 1733 that the Prince was maintaining a "clandestine correspondence"² with members of the Opposition, a rumour by no means improbable. He was on bad terms with Walpole, and seems to have had no wish to be reconciled.³ Unless he was to renounce all political entanglements—and without help from politicians he had no chance of inducing the King to increase his allowance—he was forced to make overtures to the Opposition. But it was not until 1737 that he came out into open opposition to the court party. After threatening for the past three years⁴ to have his allowance discussed by Parliament, in February of this year he at last decided to take action. Who prompted him, or whether he needed prompting, is not known. Hervey attributed the move to Chesterfield, Pitt, and Lyttelton—Carteret, he declared, was "not much for it," and Pulteney was "against it"; for Carteret merely wished to upset Walpole, not to antagonize the King and Queen, and Pulteney "was apparently much softened with regard to the court in his way of talking this year . . . and had listened to and encouraged a sort of treaty that was underhand carrying on to make him a peer, buy his silence, and give him rest."⁵ Yet as leaders in the Lords and Commons, these men were forced to propose the motion. It was lost in both houses, but by a narrow majority for the Government in the Commons.

In spite of this decisive gesture of antagonism to the Court and to the Government, the King did not sever all relations with the Prince until seven months later, when the Prince gave further offence by removing his wife from Hampton Court to St James's in order (so it appeared) that his eldest child should not be born under the King's roof. Before the end of the year Queen Caroline had died, unreconciled to her son.

1. R. Sidgwick, introd. to Hervey's *Memoirs*, p. xxxii-xxxiii.

2. *Memoirs*, p. 235.

3. Egmont, I 387.

4. Hervey, *Memoirs*, p. 235. See below, Ep. I vi 83-4.

5. *Memoirs*, p. 667. See below, Dia. I 242.

Walpole's position was weaker than it had been at any time since the Excise Bill. He had avoided defeat over the Prince's income by the narrowest majority, and in April 1737 when Parliament discussed what punishment should be inflicted upon the city of Edinburgh for the Porteous riots, Walpole had been forced to whittle down the bill of penalties as a result of strong opposition from the Duke of Argyle.¹ And now his most faithful supporter was dead. The opportunity was too good for the Opposition to miss. Chesterfield, optimistic as ever, wrote to Lyttelton, who was now the Prince's secretary: "Nothing will more hasten his [Walpole's] retreat, if he is inclined to retire, nor his ruin, if he is resolved to stand it out, than the part which the Prince may, ought, and therefore I am persuaded will act . . . the Prince at the head of the Opposition, and both encouraging and forcing the Opposition to act with vigour, has everything in his hands."² The raids of Spanish ships upon English merchantmen were becoming more frequent and were endangering the continuance of Walpole's peaceful policy. In March 1738, Pope's young friend Murray supported a deputation of English merchantmen before the bar of the House of Commons. Opinion against Spain was running high. Nevertheless, although the opportunity could scarcely have been improved, the Opposition remained ineffectual. At the moment of combining under the Prince's leadership, differences were once more discovered. Wyndham wished to continue the old method of attack by moving a reduction in the "standing army," but the Prince could not agree to weakening His Majesty.³ In spite of this disagreement, a reduction in the numbers of the army was moved in the Commons by Shippen, and supported by Wyndham, Barnard, Pulteney, and the "boys." It was defeated, as was a similar motion in the Lords, the "mildness" of the minorities' attack being commented upon by Charles Howard when writing to the Earl of Carlisle.⁴ The Opposition put up a more stubborn fight in May over an American trade bill, sponsored by Pulteney, but the despondency generally felt about its flaccid leadership was expressed by Marchmont in a letter

1. Yorke, *Life of Hardwicke*, 1913, i 184.

2. Phillimore, *Memoirs of Lyttelton*, 1843, 189-91.

3. Egmont, ii 452.

4. *HMC Carlisle Papers*, pp. 192-3.

written to Montrose at the end of the session (May 12, 1738): "I look," he added, "as several others do, upon the opposition as at an end."¹

This was the political situation when Pope published his two notable poems in support of the Opposition, the two dialogues "something like *Horace*" generally known as *The Epilogue to the Satires*. In the earliest *Imitation of Horace* there is little reflection of these struggles. Pope had many other things on his mind: 1733 was the year of the *Essay on Man*; in 1734 he was busy preparing his poems for the collected volume to be published early the next year, as well as writing *The Characters of Women* and completing the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*; and in 1735 the "unauthorized" edition of his letters was published, for which he had been manuvring since March 1733.² Nevertheless it was obvious where his political sympathies lay. A jibe at the maintenance of standing armies or at the excise scheme³ could be made only by an opponent of Walpole. But Pope's hostility was deeper than that of a man content with a passing stroke at unpopular measures. At this time of his life it often pleased him to represent two conflicting sets of values, on the one hand the old Roman simplicity of a secluded villa at Twickenham, and on the other the luxury and deceitfulness of life at Court. Today, perhaps, it is unusual to express this conflict of values in political terms, but for men living two hundred years ago there was no difficulty. The two parties might be known as Whigs and Tories; but the party in power was the court party, representing not merely the electors, but a king whom no one expected to show a modern sovereign's neutrality, and the party in opposition was the country party. One reason for Walpole's success in subduing his opponents was that, though he was the chief representative of the court, he was also a country gentleman talking to country gentlemen of the Opposition. Possibly that is why Pope was inclined to treat him with a certain degree of leniency. He had seen Walpole "in his happier hour Of Social Pleasure, ill-exchang'd for Pow'r."⁴ How-

1. *Montrose Papers*, ed. Rose, 1831, II 100.

2. See the account of this transaction in G. W. Dike, *The Papers of a Critic*, 1875, 1287 E.

3. *Id.* II 73; II 134; *Dome B &*.

4. *Id.* 128, 30.

ever much he detested what Walpole represented, Pope respected the man who preferred the pleasures of Houghton to the "well-dress'd rabble" of St James's.

In the *Imitations of the First and Second Satires* Pope is presenting this contrast of values which underlay the political conflict. The same contrast is also implicit in the *Versification of Donne's Fourth Satire*, whose publication intervened between the two *Imitations*. In this poem there is no description of the Twickenham scene; Pope's powers are concentrated on depicting what displeases him in the typical courtier. This fop cannot of course keep his talk free from the more immediate political issues of the day, so Pope gives some thirty lines¹ to reflexions on the supreme influence of Queen Caroline, on the Charitable Corporation scandal, on corruption in Parliament, on the mistaken policy of peace at any price, and on the transgression of the treaty of Utrecht. But Pope is chiefly concerned with disparaging the court, and these topical asides serve to show what scandalous rumours are bred in such an environment.

These three poems were written during the lifetime of the old parliament. When the new parliament met after the general election of 1734, a short period of political calm set in, which corresponds to the dearth of political reflexion in the poems which Pope published at this time, *Sober Advice*, *An Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, *The Characters of Women*, and the *Versification of Donne's Second Satire*. With the excitements of 1737, Pope's interest in politics also revived. The first two poems he published that year have little or no political importance. *Horace His Ode to Venus* is a charming compliment paid to his young friend, Murray; *The Second Epistle of the Second Book* is mainly concerned with autobiography and literary criticism; the reflexions it contains on the repressive anti-Catholic legislation were valid criticisms of the religious policy of either party. *The First Epistle of the Second Book* contains more dangerous matter. Ignorance of the character and personality of George Augustus II may prevent us from recognizing the superb irony of dedicating a criticism of contemporary taste in poetry and the drama to a man who paid no attention to either. And this king whose strutting dignity hindered him from recognizing that Walpole and the Queen were responsible for policy, a policy which in-

1. ll. 130-65.

the *Epistle to the Earl of Lyttelton* (1741) and the *Epistle to the Earl of Chester* (1742). In the *Epistle to the Earl of Chester* Pope writes: "My Lord, I have been told, that you are going to be a Member of the House of Commons; and I am glad to hear of it, because I shall have an opportunity of seeing you there." (ll. 1-4). In the *Epistle to the Earl of Lyttelton* Pope writes: "My Lord, I have been told, that you are going to be a Member of the House of Commons; and I am glad to hear of it, because I shall have an opportunity of seeing you there." (ll. 1-4). But the more than thirty years which have elapsed since the *Miscellaneous Works of John Pope* (1741) have not altered the character of the *Epistle to the Earl of Lyttelton*. The *Epistle to the Earl of Lyttelton* is a satire on the House of Commons. But the more than thirty years which have elapsed since the *Miscellaneous Works of John Pope* (1741) have not altered the character of the *Epistle to the Earl of Lyttelton*. The *Epistle to the Earl of Lyttelton* is a satire on the House of Commons. But the more than thirty years which have elapsed since the *Miscellaneous Works of John Pope* (1741) have not altered the character of the *Epistle to the Earl of Lyttelton*. The *Epistle to the Earl of Lyttelton* is a satire on the House of Commons.

Pope continued his attacks in the poem of 1741, *The State Epistle of the Earl of Lyttelton*. In this poem he praises Lord Lyttelton for rejecting the offers of the Government to buy his support in the election of 1741. The poem is a satire on the attempt of moneyed interests and electioneering methods. In *The State Epistle of the Earl of Lyttelton* he is holding himself. The poem is addressed in the most reverential terms to the Government and to the Earl of Lyttelton. Bolingbroke, and the behaviour of the Court and the City is vigorously attacked. This noble satire provoked replies from writers employed by the Government. *The Daily Gazetteer* complained on April 6 that in several imitations of the Epistles and Satires of Horace, lately published by a celebrated poet, "the Friends to the present Government are continually the Subject of his Satire, as they who are the avowed Enemies to their Country are thought worthy of his Panegyrics. Were not this obvious to whoever has read Mr. P.'s late Writings, I would quote Passages from them to prove what I have asserted; let it be sufficient, that the very last Epistle he imitated, begins with a complimentary Dedication to the late Lord Bolingbroke, who is always the Hero of his old Patriots, as the ingenious Mr. L... n¹ is of his young ones."¹ The paper repeated the

1. This reference was given me by Professor Sherburne.

2. See the footnotes to these lines. I have not discovered any contemporary comment on ll. 210-12, the severity of which Pope went out of his way to emphasize in a footnote to l. 204.

3. Bolingbroke was so called because he had been deprived of his title on his impeachment.

4. Lyttelton. 5. See *Dis.* ii 138-9.

same church on April 11 in some scurrilous verses entitled *The Epitaph on the Late Right Honourable John, an Abridged Imitation, By A. P. of Evelyn's Latin Epitaph*.

Just as Pope and Bolingbroke had explained his position after the outcry raised by *The Epitaph on the Late Right Honourable John*, so now he felt the need of defending the nature of the *Epitaph on Bolingbroke*. He needed his defence.

His "protest," as he described it to Swift¹, in the two dialogues "Something like Horace," entitled *One Hundred and Seventy Hundred and Thirty Feet*, and later renamed *The Epilogue to the Satires*. Pope's theme is the same theme which he had developed in his correspondence with Arbuthnot, mentioned above, that is, the urgency of making clear his abhorrence of vice, his conviction that general satire is useless, and that living examples must be made if any reform is to be effected. As he slowly develops his theme, Pope comments on the political situation, pillories the leading courtiers, and in the last thirty-five lines of the first dialogue, one of the grandest passages of his later poetry, he versifies the exhortation which Bolingbroke (now once more at his side) had delivered five years before in *A Dissertation on Parties*, that England's genius must be rescued from the Whig forces of fraud and corruption.² Warton reports³ that these poems "were more diligently laboured, and more frequently corrected than any of our Author's compositions. I have often heard Mr. Dodsley say, that he was employed by the Author to copy them fairly. Every line was then written twice over; a clean transcript was then delivered to Mr. Pope, and when he afterward sent it to Mr. Dodsley to be printed, he found every line had been written twice over a second time." There can be no doubt that such labour was amply justified. Swift wrote to Pope on August 8, 1738, telling him that the second dialogue equalled almost anything he had ever written, an opinion which the reader may share who reflects on the fervour of such a passage as ll. 197-247, or on the astonishing virtuosity shown in Pope's use of the couplet.

In a note to the last line of the second dialogue, probably written in 1743,⁴ Pope declares that on printing the poem he had resolved

1. May 17, 1739.

2. *Supra*, p. xxxii.

3. Pope's *Works*, ed. Warton, iv 294.

4. This and many other notes in the *Epilogue* were first printed in 1751. If they

to publish no more of this kind. "Could he have hoped to have amended any, he had continued those attacks, but bad men were grown so shameless and so powerful, that *Ridicule* was become as unsafe as it was ineffectual." No more poems of this kind were published, it is true, but it is difficult to decide whether this had always been Pope's settled determination. The reference in the first line to Paxton's employment as common informer of libels against the Government, and ll. 248-9, both suggest that he was aware of the danger of continuing his attacks. And with reason. In the following February (1739), Paul Whitehead and his publishers were summoned before the House of Lords to answer for a satire called *Manners*, which had been deemed libellous. This was regarded as a plain warning offered to Pope.

On the other hand, his interest in politics was still lively. In July 1738 he wrote to Fortescue telling him that he had a third dialogue in mind,¹ but there is no evidence to show that this was written. Indeed, he told Swift on May 17, 1739, that he was "sinking fast into prose," and added that he had written no more than ten lines, for insertion in *The Dunciad*, since completing the *Epilogue*. Yet his correspondence with Lyttelton in 1739 suggests that another poem in the same manner was maturing. Lyttelton was secretary to the Prince of Wales, to whom the Opposition was now looking for leadership more than ever, since the motives of Carteret and Pulteney had become suspect. The Opposition's hopes are well expressed in a letter written to Pope by Lyttelton on October 25, in which Pope is exhorted to be with the Prince as much as he can, "animate him to virtue—to the virtue least known to Princes, though most necessary for them—love of the publick; and think that the morals, the liberty, the whole happiness of this country depends on your success"; and he concludes, "In short, if you had any spirit in you, you would come to Bath, and let the Prince hear every day from the man of this age, who is the greatest dispenser of fame, and will be best heard by posterity, that if he would immortalize himself, the only way he can take is to deserve a place by

had been written in 1740 they would no doubt have been included in the edition of that year. References to the revised form of *The Dunciad* suggest that they were written in 1743 or 1744.

1. See *Dis.* II 139a.

his conduct in *some writings*, where he will never be admitted only for his rank." Lyttelton's hint is plain enough, and though Pope makes no promises in his reply, yet the tenor of his letter, which reports a long conversation with Sir William Wyndham on the state of the Opposition and ends by encouraging the Prince to virtuous action,¹ shows that he was moved. It is not too fantastic to suggest that the fragment 1740, which concludes with an exhortation to the Prince, was written as a result of Lyttelton's promptings.

1740 was never finished, perhaps for the reason which Pope offers in the note to the last line of the second dialogue, perhaps because his interest in politics was beginning to wane. Having come under the influence of Warburton, he began to turn his attention to a final revision of his poems, and to the completion of the *Essay on Man*.² His last word on politics is to be found in a letter to Ralph Allen, February 8, 1741-2.

"I never in my life wrote a Letter on these subjects [Public Affairs]: I content myself as you do, with honest wishes, for honest men to govern us, without asking for any Party, or Denomination, beside. This is all the Distinction I know: and tho' th^y call Kings the Fountains of Honour, I think them only the Bestowers of Titles: wch they are generally most profuse of, to Wh—s and Kn—s."³

Pope states in the *Advertisement to the Imitations of Horace* that he had "versified" the *Satires of Dr Donne* "at the Desire of the Earl of Oxford while he was Lord Treasurer, and of the Duke of Shrewsbury" (P. 3), that is to say, between the years 1711 and 1714. But it is clear that the Earl of Oxford, who died in 1724, and the Duke of Shrewsbury, who died in 1718, cannot have seen the poems in the form in which Pope published them, for there is abundant internal evidence of revision in the early 1730's. A reference to the Excise in ii 8 and iv 147, and to the Polish Succession in iv 154, suggests that the revision was made in 1733. Yet on March 10, 1725-6, Edward, the second Earl of Oxford, wrote to Pope telling him he had found amongst his father's papers "your translation of one of Dr Donne's Satires." It seems probable that the Earl had come across the folio

1. See 1740, 83a. 2. See *Dis.* ii 255a. 3. B. M. Egerton MS. 1047, f. 101v.

manuscript volume of poems now in the British Museum (Lansdowne 852). This collection seems to have been started for the amusement of the first Earl and continued by his son, who has annotated many pages of it. On fol. 54^r is found *The Second Satire of Dr Donne Translated by Mr Pope*, written in an unknown hand.¹ The poem is undated, and evidence for dating is meagre since the poems in this volume are not arranged in strictly chronological order. However, no poem to which a date is fixed was written later than 1726, and since *The Second Satire* follows immediately upon Swift's *Imitation of Horace*—"Harley, the Nation's great support"—dated 1713, there is no reason to doubt the truth of Pope's statement that this early version of *The Second Satire* was "translated" for the first Earl of Oxford—perhaps in 1713, too.² When Pope revised the poem in 1733, he retained only some 30 of the 120 and odd lines. This is not surprising since the two versions were written, clearly, with different intentions. The earlier version can best be described as a modernization—its place is with Pope's versions of Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale* and *Wife of Bath's Prologue*; the revision of 1733 was evidently made to bring this "translation" into satiric line with the *Imitations of Horace*. The Lansdowne version of *The Second Satire* is now printed for the first time (pp. 132ff.). No earlier version of *The Fourth Satire* is known, though Pope's verse letter to Cromwell, written on July 12 or 13, 1707,³ shows that he was already familiar with it at this early date.

Pope's attention to Donne's *Satires* should not give any cause for surprise. Though he and his contemporaries may not have read Donne with the enthusiasm with which we read him to-day, yet certainly they read him. Tonson, the publisher, considered that there was sufficient demand for a new edition of the poems in 1719; and fifteen of them are found in *Dryden's Miscellany*, the most popular and representative anthology of the period, re-issued for the fifth time in 1727. Spence records that Pope held Donne's poetry in high repute—though he credits him with the odd opinion

1. I am indebted to Mr Ault for drawing my attention to this MS. of the satire.

2. Incidentally, this was the year of *Windsor Forest*, of which l. 68 was suggested by the sixtieth line of Donne's satire.

3. Printed in vol. vi.

that "Donne had no imagination, but as much wit, I think, as any writer can possibly have"—and commended his *Epistles*, *Metempsychosis*, and *Satires*, as "his best things."² One could wish for a fuller statement, but the motto chosen from Horace, and the very fact of his decision to versify, suggest that Pope would have subscribed to Dryden's views—"[Donne] gives us deep thoughts in common language, though rough cadence,"³ and on another occasion, "Would not Donne's *Satires*, which abound with so much wit, appear more charming, if he had taken care of his words, and of his numbers?"⁴ a question which Pope might well have been incited to answer without the encouragement of Oxford and Shrewsbury.

A note is prefixed to each poem relating the textual history of the poem and stating from what source the present text is derived. The general principle adopted has been to print Pope's final revisions but to follow the typography of the first editions, as explained in the Preface. The Latin texts have been restored to the positions from which they have been banished in all recent editions. The most famous editor of Horace in Pope's time was Bentley, but except in *Sober Advice* Pope never followed Bentley's text. Indeed he avoided it. Having accidentally printed one of Bentley's conjectures in the seventh epistle of the first book—*nitedula* in l. 29—he substituted the old reading *volpcrela*, when revising the poem for the next edition. The text of Horace which Pope habitually used has not been discovered.⁵

1. *Anecdotes*, p. 136. 2. *ibid.*, p. 144. 3. *Essays*, i 52. 4. *ibid.*, ii 102.

5. It is of some interest to estimate the extent of Pope's indebtedness to Creech's *Horace*, the only complete translation available. The rendering of *rapit* (*Ep.* i i 13) by *drives*, of *vulpes* (*Ep.* i i 70) by *Reynard*, and of *sentit* (*Ep.* ii ii 162) by *confesses* might have occurred to Pope independently of Creech; but when both are found translating *Lare* (*Ep.* i i 13) by *sect* and *irritabile* (*Ep.* ii ii 102) by *waspish*, and conveying the effect of *fastus* and *molimine* (*Ep.* ii ii 93) by the verb *strut*, the renderings are sufficiently unusual to justify the inference that Pope borrowed them from Creech. There are three other passages in which Pope was helped by Creech's translations: "our curious men" (*Sat.* ii ii 17) and "who keeps the middle state, and neither leans &c" (*Sat.* ii ii 61) are common to both, and are very free renderings of the Latin—and l. 96 of the same satire is taken verbatim from Creech. The comparison shows that Pope turned to Creech in occasional difficulties, and lifted some few good things which he considered worth the transport. See also *Windsor Forest*, l. 250a.

Since Pope is the most allusive of our poets, the amount of annotation is necessarily large. To relieve space at the foot of the page, all information about the lives of Pope's contemporaries has been removed to a Biographical Appendix. In view of the fullness and accuracy of Professor R. H. Griffith's work, bibliographical information has been reduced to a minimum.

Throughout the footnotes and the biographical appendix I have tried to show my indebtedness to the printed works of my predecessors and contemporaries. In particular, I have to thank Messrs Eyre and Spottiswoode for their courtesy in allowing me to quote from the text of Hervey's *Memoirs* published by them in 1931. It is a pleasure to record here the abundant help I have received from each of my fellow editors, the variety of which it would be impossible to specify at this point; Miss M. Andrewes, Dr R. W. Greaves, Mr Hugh Macdonald, Dr C. T. Onions, and Professor George Sherburn have generously supplied information on numerous occasions; and Professor D. Nichol Smith has never failed me with encouragement, information, and advice.

JOHN BUTT

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

The standard biographies are G. Sherburn's *The Early Career of Alexander Pope*, 1934, and W. J. Courthope's life in vol. v of the Elwin-Courthope edition of Pope's works, 1871-89. Sherburn's account stops in 1727.

1688 (May 21) Alexander Pope born in London of elderly parents.

c.1700 Pope's family moved to Binfield, in Windsor Forest, [?] to comply with anti-Catholic regulations.
Death of Dryden.

c.1705 Pope started to make acquaintance with the literary society of London.

1709 (May) *The Pastorals* published in the sixth part of Tonson's *Miscellanies*.

1711 (May) *An Essay on Criticism* published; praised in *The Spectator* by Addison, and damned by Dennis.

1712 (May) *The Messiah* published by Steele in *The Spectator*. Lintot's *Miscellany* published, containing the first version of *The Rape of the Lock*, and other poems by Pope. Pope was becoming acquainted with Swift, Gay, Parnell, and Arbuthnot, who together formed the Scriblerus Club.

1713 (March) *Windsor Forest*.

(April) Addison's *Cato* first acted, with a prologue by Pope. Pope was contributing to Steele's *Guardian*.

(October) Proposals issued for a translation of the *Iliad*.

1714 (March) The enlarged version of *The Rape of the Lock*.

(August) Death of Queen Anne.

1700 (January) Pope's edition of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham's *Works* published, and seized by the Government on suspicion of Jacobitish passages.
 (May) Pope called before the House of Lords as a witness at Atterbury's trial.

1701 (March) Pope's edition of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham's *Works* published, and seized by the Government on suspicion of Jacobitish passages.
 (May) Pope called before the House of Lords as a witness at Atterbury's trial.

1702 (January) Pope's edition of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham's *Works* published, and seized by the Government on suspicion of Jacobitish passages.
 (May) Pope called before the House of Lords as a witness at Atterbury's trial.

1703 (June) Pope's edition of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham's *Works* published, and seized by the Government on suspicion of Jacobitish passages.
 (May) Pope called before the House of Lords as a witness at Atterbury's trial.

1719 Death of Addison

1720 (May) *Iliad*, vols. v and vi.

1721 (September) The *Epistle to Addison* prefixed to Tuckell's edition of Addison's *Works*.
 (December) The *Epistle to Oxford* prefixed to Pope's edition of Parnell's *Poems*.

1723 (January) Pope's edition of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham's *Works* published, and seized by the Government on suspicion of Jacobitish passages.
 (May) Pope called before the House of Lords as a witness at Atterbury's trial.

- 1725 March Pope's *Epistle to the Duke of Devonshire*, The *Post*, six volumes.
 April *Of a New Edition*.
 Butler broke through the blockade and settled near Pope at Ditchfield, Essex.
- 1726 March The *Post* has a *Letter from the Spectator* to *Mr. Pope*, *Mr. Pope's Answer to the Spectator*, *Mr. Pope's*.
 (June) *Of a New Edition*.
 Pope wrote to Swift *On the Death of the Duke of Devonshire* in October.
- 1727 June Pope-Swift *Miscellanies*, vols. i and ii.
 Swift's second visit to Pope.
- 1728 March Pope-Swift *Miscellanies*, "last" volume.
 (May) *The Dunciad*, in three books, with Theobald as hero.
- 1729 (April) *The Dunciad Variorum*.
- 1731 December *Epistle to Hurlington* [Moral Essay iv].
- 1732 (October) Pope-Swift *Miscellanies*, "third" volume.
 (December) Death of Gray.
- 1733 (January) *Epistle to Bathurst* [Moral Essay iii].
 (February) The first *Imitation of Horace* [Sat. ii i].
 (February-May) *An Essay on Man*, Epistles i-iii.
 (June) Death of Pope's mother.
- 1734 (January) *Epistle to Cobham* [Moral Essay i].
An Essay on Man, Epistle iv.
 (July) *Imitation of Horace* [Sat. ii ii].
 (December) *Sober Advice from Horace*.
- 1735 (January) *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*.
 (February) *Of the Characters of Women* [Moral Essay iv].
 Death of Arbuthnot.
 (April) *The Works*, vol. ii.

- 1737 (May) *Curiosities of the History of the*
British Empire (10 vols.)
- 1737-38 (April) *Letter to Horace Walpole*
 (May) *Letter to Horace Walpole*
Letter to Horace Walpole
And in a Manuscript of the *Letter to Horace Walpole*
metaphysical Philosophy (10 vols.)
- 1738 (January-March) *Letter to Horace Walpole*
 (May-July) *Letter to Horace Walpole*
 Warburton commenced his reply to *Curiosities*
 Pope visited by Beedingbrooke
- 1740 (April) Pope's first meeting with Warburton
- 1742 (March) *The New Dunciad* [i.e. Book 1]
- 1743 (October) *The Dunciad* in four books with Collier introduced
 in the place of Throbbald
- 1744 (May 30) Death of Pope

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL POEMS of Pope to be found in the other volumes

The Dunciad	in volume v
Epigs to the Muses, &c. &c. to the Earl of Bath	" " ii
Epica to Abchurch	" " ii
Essay on Criticism	" " i
Essay on Man	" " iii
January and May	" " ii
Messiah	" " i
Moral Essays	" " iii
Pastorals	" " i
The Rape of the Lock	" " ii
The Temple of Fame	" " ii
Translations from Ovid and Statius	" " i
The Wife of Bath	" " ii
Windsor Forest	" " i

The translation of Homer is not included in this edition. The remaining poems will be found in volume vi. The three-book *Dunciad* is referred to as *Dunciad A*, the four-book as *Dunciad B*. The same distinction is made in referring to *The Rape of the Lock*. The *Essay on Criticism* is referred to as *Ess. on C.*

ABBREVIATED TITLES

of poems printed in this volume

Dist. i	<i>Ep. on the Satire of Juvenal</i>
Dist. ii	<i>Ep. on the Satire of Juvenal II</i>
Domit. ii	<i>The Sixth Satire of Domitian</i>
Domit. iv	<i>The Fourth Satire of Domitian</i>
Ep. i i	<i>The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated</i> [to Bolingbroke]
Ep. i vi	<i>The Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated</i> [to Murray].
Ep. i xii	<i>The Seventh Epistle of the First Book of Horace. Imitated</i> <i>in the Manner of Dr Swift</i>
Ep. ii i	<i>The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated</i> [to Augustus].
Ep. ii ii	<i>The Second Epistle of the Second Book of Horace.</i>
Ep. to	
Arbuthnot	<i>An Epistle from Mr Pope to Dr Arbuthnot.</i>
Ode iv i	<i>Horace, His Ode to Venus, Lib. IV, Ode I.</i>
Ode iv ix	<i>Part of the Ninth Ode of the Fourth Book.</i>
Sat. ii i	<i>The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated</i> [to Fortescue]
Sat. ii ii	<i>The Second Satire of the Second Book of Horace Para-</i> <i>phrased</i> [to Bethel].
Sat. ii vi	<i>An Imitation of The Sixth Satire of the Second Book of</i> <i>Horace.</i>
Sob. Adv.	<i>Sober Advice from Horace.</i>
1740	<i>One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty.</i>

FURTHER ABBREVIATIONS

used in the footnotes & in the biographical appendix

BEATSON = A Chronological Register of both Houses of Parliament. By R. Beatson. 3 vols., 1807. A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland. By R. Beatson. Third edition, 3 vols., 1806.

BIOG. APP. = Biographical Appendix.

BURNET = The History of My Own Time. 6 vols., 1823.

CARRUTHERS = The Poetical Works of Pope. Ed. R. Carruthers. 2 vol. edition of 1858 used.

COXE = Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole. By W. Coxe. 3 vols., 1798.

CROKER = Notes by Croker in the Elwin-Courthope edition of Pope's Works.

DNB = Dictionary of National Biography.

DRYDEN'S ESSAYS = Essays, selected and ed. W. P. Ker. 2 vols., 1900.

DRYDEN'S PROSE = The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden. Ed. E. Malone. 3 vols., 1800.

DYSON = Pope, Poetry and Prose. Ed. H. V. D. Dyson. 1933.

EC = The Works of Pope. Ed. W. Elwin and W. J. Courthope. 10 vols., 1871-89.

EGMONT = Diary of the Earl of Egmont. Hist. MSS. Comm. 3 vols., 1920-3.

EJD = Information kindly given by Miss E. Jeffries Davis.

GEC = The Complete Peerage of Great Britain. By G.E.C. A new edition in progress, by V. Gibbs, H. A. Doubleday, and Lord Howard de Walden. 1910 etc.

GRIERSON = The Poems of John Donne. Ed. H. J. C. Grierson. 2 vols., 1912.

GRIFFITH = Alexander Pope. A Bibliography. By R. H. Griffith. 1 vol. in two parts, 1922, 1927.

GS = Information kindly given by Professor G. Sberburn.

HERVEY MEMOIRS = Memoirs of the Reign of George II. By John, Lord Hervey. Ed. R. Sedgwick. 3 vols., 1931.

- JS = Information kindly given by Mr John Sparrow.
- JOHNSON'S LIVES = Lives of the English Poets. By Samuel Johnson. Ed. G. Birkbeck Hill. 3 vols., 1905.
- LADY MARY'S LETTERS = The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Ed. Lord Wharnccliffe. 2 vols., 1893.
- LECKY = A History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By W. E. H. Lecky. 7 vols., 1878. Edition of 1892 quoted.
- MALONE = Malone's MS. notes for an edition of Pope's works, Bodleian MS. Malone 30.
- NICHOLS = Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century. By John Nichols. The edition of 1812-15, in 9 vols., used.
- OED = Oxford English Dictionary.
- P = Note by Pope; usually followed by dates of the editions in which it was printed.
- PATTISON = Pope's Satires and Epistles. Ed. Mark Pattison. 1872. Impression of 1925 used.
- POLIT. HIST. ENG. = The Political History of England. Ed. W. Hunt and R. L. Poole. Vol. ix (1702-60), by I. S. Leadam, 1909.
- POPE'S PROSE = The Prose Works of A. Pope. Ed. Norman Ault. Vol. i, 1936.
- SHERBURN = The Early Career of A. Pope. By George Sherburn. 1934.
- SPENCE = Anecdotes . . . of Books and Men. By Joseph Spence. Ed. S. W. Singer. 1820.
- SUFFOLK = Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk. 2 vols., 1824.
- SYKES = Edmund Gibson. By Norman Sykes. 1926.
- WAKEFIELD = Works of A. Pope. Ed. Gilbert Wakefield. 1794. Observations on Pope. By G. Wakefield. 1796.
- WALPOLE = Notes on the Poems of Pope, by Horatio, Earl of Orford, contributed by Sir W. A. Fraser. 1876. Also, Marginal notes from his copies of Warton's *Essay and Additions to Pope's Works* (1776), now in the British Museum.
- WALPOLE ANEC. PAINTING = Anecdotes of Painting. By Horace Walpole. Ed. R. N. Wornum. 3 vols., 1888.
- WARBURTON 1751 = Works of A. Pope. Ed. W. Warburton. 9 vols., 1751. First edition of 1751 quoted.
- WARD = Poetical Works of A. Pope. Ed. A. W. Ward. 1869. Reprint of 1924 used.

- WARTON = Works of A. Pope, Ed. J. Warton, 9 vols., 1747. Edition of 1822 quoted.
- WILKES = A copy of "Warburton," with MS. notes by John Wilkes, British Museum, G. 12876-8.
- WILLIAMS = The Works of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, 3 vols., 1822.

THE
FIRST SATIRE
OF THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
HORACE
IMITATED

ADVERBIAL SENTENCES.

The Oration read by the Ambassadors at the banquet raised on some points of Grammar. In the expression *Horace* is to be more full, and of more Dignity than *Dr.* and *the* is to be more elegant, and the Example of such writers is to be imitated. A Divine as Dr. Donne, seems a soft name for a Satyrical writer. A Christian may treat like a Pagan, as the Poet says, *Stat.* Both the Authors were acceptable to the King and Minister, who at the time, lived. The Satire of Dr. Donne is very like the Desire of the Earl of Oxford, while he was Lord Treasurer, and of the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had been Secretary of State, neither of whom took it upon a Satire on various Courts as any Reflection on those they served in. And indeed there is not in the world a greater Error, than that which Poets are apt to fall into, and knows with good reason to encourage, the mistaking a Satyrist for a Libeller, whereas to a true Satyrist nothing is so odious as a Libeller, for the same reason as to a man truly Virtuous nothing is so hateful as a Hypocrite. [P. 1735-51]

—*Imperius Virtuti atque ejus Amicus* [P. 1739-51]

Oxford held the office of Lord Treasurer from 1711 to 1714. He died in 1724. Two years later, his son the second Earl wrote to Pope (March 10, 1725-6), telling him he had found amongst his father's papers Pope's "translation of one of Dr. Donne's Satires." For Shrewsbury, see Biog. App., Talbot. The motto is from Horace, *Sat.* II. 1. 70.

QUINTI HORATII FLACCI SERMONUM LIBER SECUNDUS

How Sleepless I am
 When I am alone
 When I am alone

LIBER 100

How Sleepless I am 5

(*Amicus et hostis*)

LIBER 11

How Perambulate I am

(*Optimum erat totum nequeo dormire*)

LIBER 12

Transnante Iberim, somno quibus est (per alia,
 Irrigunt e metis sub noctem corpus habentis

HORACE.] 1751 adds the sub title To Mr FORTESCUE

3 Referring to *Moralia* iii 129

4. *ibid* ii 20, 86

6. *Lord Fanny*] See Introduction, pp. xv xx "*Fanny* (my Lord) is the plain English of *Fannius*, a real person, who was a kinsman, and an enemy of *Horace* perhaps a Noble one, for in . . . I must acquaint you the word *Beatus* may be construed

(*Beatus Fannius*) ultra

Delatis capris et imagine [Sat. i iv 21] "

A Letter to a Noble Lord [Hervey], 1737, viii 262.

8. William Fortescue. See Biog. App. "I have you seen my imitation of Horace? I fancy it will make you smile; but though, when I first began it, I thought of you, before I came to end it, I considered it might be too ludicrous, to a man of

THE FIRST SATIRE OF THE
SECOND BOOK OF HORACE

P
Though I once did think, but am told
 I have not chosen my true room to hold,
 So I will *see* *see* compare them now,
 And once have made off *Far* much too rough
 The fine new work another place to w
 Lord *Far* upon all hand and side
 I'm *rough* by Nature of the *Rich* man's,
 I come to *Council* used in the Law
 You'll give me, like a friend both sage and free,
 Advice, and as you use without a fee
 I'd write no more

5
 10

P. Not write? but then I *think*,
And for my Soul I cannot sleep a wink
I need in Company, I wake at Night,
Fools rush into my Head, and so I write.

P. You could not do a worse thing for your Life. 15
Why, if the Nights seem tedious - take a Wife;
Or rather truly, if your Point be Rest,
Lettuce and Cowslip Wine; *Probatur est.*

11, 15 F] L. 17 17

your situation and grave acquaintance, to make you Trebatius, who was yet one of the most considerable lawyers of his time, and a particular friend of a poet in both which circumstances I rejoice that you resemble him, but am chiefly pleased that you do it in the latter." Pope to Fortescue, Sunday, February 1732-3.

19. "I sleep in company, and wake at night, which is vexatious: if you did so, you at your age would make verses" Pope to Richardson, Nov. 21 [1739], EC ix 508.

18. *Lettuce and Cowslip Wine*] "Well, sir, for the future I will drown all high thoughts in the Lethe of cowslip-wine." Pope to Cromwell, May 10, 1708. ll. 16, 17 suggest that Pope had in mind the anaphrodisiac as well as the soporific properties of lettuce, testified to in the herbals of Gerard and Culpeper.

*Aut, ut tantus amor scribendi te rapit, caute
CÆSARINUS, vel te docere, multa latæ equi
Plurima latetur.*

10

*HOR. Cupidum, pater optime, tuos
Deficiunt neque enim quicquam horrentia pulis
Agmina, nec tracta percurrentes cuspide Gallos,
Aut labentis equo decurbat culatra Parthi.*

15

*TREB. Attamen & justum poetarum & scribere fortem,
Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius.*

*HOR. Haud mihi derro,
Cum res ipsa feret. Nisi dextro tempore Flacci
Verba per attentam non ibunt Cæsaris autem;
Cui male si palpare, recalcitrat undique tutus.*

20

*TREB. Quanto rectius hoc, quam tristi ledere versu
Pantolabum Scurram, Nomentanumve nepotem?
Cum sibi quisque timet, quanquam est intactus, & odit.*

19 will] may 1733-35b. 25-6 Rend . . . Thunder] add. 1734-51.

19. *Celsus*] The chief Roman writer on medicine. EC notes the MS. reading *Hollus*, the name of Fortescue's doctor (EC ix 133).

20. *Hartshorn*] This was intended as a pleasantry on the novelty of the prescription [*Warburton*]. Pattison noticed "Sirop of cowsep, and hartshorn" in a sleeping potion prescribed for Swift in 1733; its efficacy may be doubted since hartshorn (i.e. ammonia) is a stimulant.

23. *Sir Richard*] Blackmore. See Biog. App. *rumbling*] "... Sir Richard, in that rumbling old chariot of his . . ." Pope (quoting *Lancelot*) to the Earl of Burlington [1716?], EC x 207. And cf. Dryden's *Prologue to the Pilgrim*, 41f:

*At leisure Hours in Epique Song he deals,
Writes in the rumbling of his Coach's Wheels.*

27. Referring to *Budgell's* ludicrous *Præfatus His Majesty's Late Journey to*

But talk with *Celsus*, *Celsus* will advise
 Hartshorn, or something that shall close your Eyes. 20
 Or if you needs must write, write CÆSAR's Praise:
 You'll gain at least a *Knighthood*, or the *Bays*.

P. What? like Sir *Richard*, rumbling, rough and fierce,
 With ARMS, and GEORGE, and BRUNSWICK crowd the
 Verse?

Rend with tremendous Sound your ears asunder, 25
 With Gun, Drum, Trumpet, Blunderbuss & Thunder?
 Or nobly wild, with *Budgell's* Fire and Force,
 Paint Angels trembling round his *falling Horse*?

F. Then all your Muse's softer Art display,
 Let *Carolina* smooth the tuneful Lay, 30
 Lull with *Amelia's* liquid Name the Nine,
 And sweetly flow through all the Royal Line.

P. Alas! few Verses touch their nicer Ear;
 They scarce can bear their *Laureate* twice a Year:
 And justly CÆSAR scorns the Poet's Lays, 35
 It is to *History* he trusts for Praise.

F. Better be *Cibber*, I'll maintain it still,
 Than ridicule all *Taste*, blaspheme *Quadrille*,
 Abuse the City's best good Men in Metre,

25 your] our 1734-35c. 29, and subsequently. F] L 1733-35b.

Cambridge and Newmarket, 1728, in which the fate of George II's illustrious steed, shot under him at the battle of Oudenarde, is sung. The trembling angels are Pope's invention.

30, 31. *Carolina* . . . *Amelia*] See Biog. App.

33-5. George II's well-known dislike of poetry is frequently the object of Pope's sarcasm. cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 222, *Ep.* II i 404.

34. *twice a Year*] The poet laureate's duties were to celebrate with odes the New Year and the King's Birthday, see E. K. Broadus, *The Laureateship* (1921), p. 102. At this time the office was held by Colley Cibber.

36. *to History*] A jibe at the office of historiographer royal, which had been re-created for James Howell in 1661.

38. *ridicule all Taste*] See *Moral Es.* iv *passim*.

blaspheme Quadrille] Referring to *Moral Es.* III 76.

39. Referring to *Moral Es.* III 101.

And I will not *Poor* that put them In the *Peter*.
 Is in the *Love* touch not, hate you.

40

P What should ail 'em?

P A hundred mortals *Ira* and in *Balaam*;
 The fewer still, *Carthage* you wound the more;
Borgia but one, but *Hercules* a Score.

P Each Mortal has his Pleasure. None deny
Scar safe in Bottle, *Dart* his Ham-Pye,
Ridotta sup and dance, till she see

45

The doubling Lustred once as fast as she;
P loves the *Senate*, *Hockley-Hole* his Brother
 Like in all else, as one Egg to another.

50

I love to pour out all myself, as plain
 As downright *Shippen*, or as old *Montagne*.

In them, as certain to be lov'd as seen,
 The Soul stood forth, nor kept a Thought within;

In me what Spots (for Spots I have) appear,

55

Dart] *D* 1713 35d 48 last] well 1733 35c. 49 F—]—1733.

47 *Ridotta*] A name for a type of Society woman from the Italian, *ridotto*, a social assembly consisting of music and dancing, introduced into England in 1722 [O.E.D.].

49 *P*] Stephen Fox. His more famous brother Henry (who did not enter Parliament till 1735 and so cannot at this time have loved attendance there) is not known to have enjoyed the sports of Hockley Hole, though gossip credited him with spending "a fair younger brother's portion . . . in the common vices of youth, gaming included" (Chesterfield's *Works*, Dublin, 1777, i 352), the truth of which is denied by his latest biographer, Lord Ilchester.

Hockley-Hole] A Bear-garden near Clerkenwell Green, celebrated since Ben Jonson's days for the bull and bear baiting, which took place on Mondays and Thursdays (Cunningham and Wheatley, *London Past and Present*). A visit there is described in *Spectator* No. 436, and Lyttelton mentions that "the delighted beholders rewarded with showers of money, greater or less, in proportion as the combatants were more or less hurt" (*Letters from a Persian in England*, No. 3). cf. *Dunciad*, B i 222, 326.

55. "The best way to prove the clearness of our mind, is by shewing its faults; as when a stream discovers the dirt at the bottom, it convinces us of the transparency and purity of the water." *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, EC x 551.

I
 I
 I

Sequitur Epithetum

Quenquam animantem, quod morietur, vel distinet 40
Virgine lectus quem aut exstringere licet
Jupiter infectis latronibus, O Pater, et Rex
Jupiter, ut ferat postum subigine rerum.
Vix postquam noceat cupido mihi facti' otio,
Qui me committit, melius non tangere iustitia 45

64. *Friendman or Peasman?* Pope told Spence, p. 107, 108. Hall just called Pease his crew-man and Leach his prime man.

64-6. Pope wrote to Caryll, who was also a Catholic, on 6 March, 1732, 3, saying that "one or two good priests were grieved at their lines, not seeing so plain a meaning as that an honest man and a good catholic might be indifferent what the world called him, while he knew his own religion and his own integrity." Pope's open-mindedness in religious matters had been evident since the *Essay on Criticism*, see II, 396-7, and Sherburn, pp. 61-3.

66. *Erasmus?* Pope writes to Swift, Nov. 28, 1739, that he is "of the religion of Erasmus, a catholic," and cf. *E. on C.* II, 693-6. He bequeathed a copy of Erasmus's works in eleven volumes to Bolingbroke.

67-8. This was especially applicable to the year 1713, when Pope had celebrated the Tory peace in *Windsor Forest* and written a prologue to the Whig play, *Gato*. See Sherburn, p. 67. He wrote to Caryll, July 25, 1714, "You can hardly guess what a task you undertake when you profess yourself my friend; there are some Tories who will take you for a Whig, some Whigs who will take you for a Tory, some Protestants who will esteem you a rank Papist, and some Papists who will account you a heretic. I find, by dear experience, we live in an

Will prove at least the Medium must be clear.

In this impartial Glaze my Muse intends

Fair to expose my self, my Foe, my Friends;

Publick in the present Age, but where my Text

Is Vice too high, receive it for the next.

60

My Foe shall wish my Fate a longer date,

And ev'ry Friend the less lament my Fate

My Head and Heart thus flowing thro' my Quill,

Versè-man or Prose-man, term me which you will,

Papist or Protestant, or both between,

65

Like good *Erasmus* in an honest Mean,

In Moderation placing all my Glory,

While Tories call me Whig, and Whigs a Tory.

Satire's my Weapon, but I'm too discreet

To run a Muck, and tilt at all I meet;

70

I only wear it in a Land of Hectors,

Thieves, Supercargoes, Sharpers, and Directors.

Save but our *Army!* and let *Jove* incrust

Swords, Pikes, and Guns, with everlasting Rust!

Peace is my dear Delight not *Fleury's* more:

75

age where it is criminal to be moderate . . ."

71. *Hectors*] the name given to a group of dissolute young gentlemen in the second half of the seventeenth century, who swaggered "by night about [London], breaking windows, upsetting sedans, beating quiet men, and offering rude caresses to pretty women" (Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* ch. lii). Here, perhaps less specifically, "bullies."

72. *Supercargoes*] Officers on board merchant ships whose business it was to superintend the cargo and commercial transactions of the voyage. Fielding's use of the word (*Leiter* ii 14) shows that supercargoes were proverbial for their wealth (OED).

Directors] South-Sea Company directors. See *Moral Es.* ii 117.

73. "The maintenance of a standing army at the command of the sovereign had, since the revolution [the year of Pope's birth], been declaimed against by the Tories as a constant menace to English liberty" (*Polit. Hist. Eng.*, ix 243); later, in the first two Hanoverian reigns, there were annual conflicts about the size of the forces, which in times of peace numbered about 17,000 men during Walpole's administration (Locky, ii 144). See *Sat.* ii 154.

Flebit, & insignis tota cantabitur urbe.

*Certus iratus leges minatur & urnam;
 Candida Albuli, quibus est inimica, Venenam,
 Grande malum Turtus, is quid se iudice certes;
 Ut, quo quisque valet, suspectus terreat, usque* 59
*Imperet hoc natura potens, sic collige mecum.
 Dente lupus, cornu taurus petit; unde nris intus
 Monstratum? Scæva vivacem crede nepoti
 Matrem: nil faciet sceleris pia dextra mirum
 Ut neque calce lupus quenuquam, neque dente petit bos)* 55
Sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.

*Ne longum faciam; seu me tranquilla senectus
 Expectat, seu mors atris circumvolat alis;
 Dives inops, Roma seu sors ita jusserit, exul,
 Quisquis erit vita, scribam, color.*

82 Judge be Page] J --- ge be — 1733: Judge be * 1734-43.

83 scarce a milder] yet a sadder 1733.

78. Wakefield compares Dryden's Epilogue to *Aurung-zebe* ll. 5, 6:

The Action great, yet circumscrib'd by Time,
 The Words not forc'd, but sliding into Rhime:

Warton compares Boileau, who writes of Horace,

Et malheur a tout nom qui, propre à la censure,
 Put entrer dans un vers sans rompre la mesure!

(*Art Poétique*, li 153-4)

81. Delia] Mary Howard, Countess of Delorain. See Bing. App.

82, var. [J—ge be—] "Sir Francis Page, a Judge well known in his time, conceiving that his name was meant to fill up the blank, sent his clerk to Mr. Pope, to complain of the insult. Pope told the young man that the blank might be supplied

But touch me, and no Minister so sore.
 Who-e'er offends, at some unlucky Time
 Slides into Verse, and hitches in a Rhyme,
 Sacred to Ridicule! his whole Life long,
 And the sad Burthen of some merry Song. 80

Slander or Poyson, dread from *Delia's* Rage,
 Hard Words or Hanging, if your Judge be *Page*
 From furious *Sappho* scarce a milder Fate,
 P—x'd by her Love, or libell'd by her Hate:
 Its proper Pow'r to hurt, each Creature feels, 85
 Bulls aim their horns, and Asses lift their heels,
 'Tis a Bear's Talent not to kick, but hug,
 And no man wonders he's not stung by Pug:
 So drink with *Waters*, or with *Chartres* cat,
 They'll never poison you, they'll only cheat. 90

Then learned Sir! (to cut the Matter short)
 What-e'er my Fate, or well or ill at Court,
 Whether old Age, with faint, but chearful Ray,
 Attends to gild the Evening of my Day,
 Or Death's black Wing already be display'd 95
 To wrap me in the Universal Shade;
 Whether the darken'd Room to muse invite,
 Or whiten'd Wall provoke the Skew'r to write,

89. *Waters*] W---t---rs 1733: Walters 1735a, 1740-51. *Chartres*]
 Ch---t---rs 1733: Charters 1734-35a.

by many monosyllables, other than the judge's name:—"but, sir," said the clerk, "the judge says that no [other] word will make sense of the passage."—"So, then, it seems," says Pope, "your master is not only a judge, but a poet: as that is the case, the odds are against me. Give my respects to the judge, and tell him, I will not contend with one that has the advantage of me, and he may fill up the blank as he pleases." Johnson, *Works* (1824) xi 194a. See further, Biog. App.

89. *Sappho*] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. See Introduction, pp. xvff.

88. *Pug*] This was the name of a Cornish boxer. See an anonymous poem, *Risum Tenentis? Amici*, 1732, p. 7.

89. *Waters*] Peter Walter, but "be sure to read *Waters*" [Pope's ironical *cratunum* in 1735b]. He is similarly spelt at *Donne* ii 80.

TREB. *O puer, ut sis*

60

Fatalis, metus; & majorum ne quis amicus

Frigeret te feriat

HOR. *Quid? cum est Lucilius autus*

Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,

Detrahere & pellem, nitidus quo quisque per ora

Cederet, introrum turpis; num Lilius, & qui

65

Duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen,

Ingenio offensus? aut laeso doluere Metello,

Famosisque Lupis cooperito veribus? Atque

Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributum;

199. *the Mint*] A sanctuary for insolvent debtors and others in Southwark, so called because Henry VIII kept a Mint there. Nahum Tate, the poet laureate, died there in 1718 (Cunningham and Wheatley's *London*). Young had already jibed at debtor-poets in *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope, Concerning the Authors of the Age*, 1730, l. 117-8.

Such Writers have we! all, but Sense, they print;

Ev'n George's Praise is dated from the *Mint*.

See also *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, ll. 13, 136.

103. *Plum*] "A 'plum' is no temptation to [an honest man]. He likes and loves himself too well to change hearts with one of those corrupt miscreants, who amongst them gave that name to a round sum of money gained by rapine and plunder of the commonwealth" (Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, ed. Robertson, i 86). cf. *Dia.* ii 49.

Director . . . W[ife] Referring to *Moral Es.* iii 117, 94.

103. *aim'd for Virtue*] "I am in no concern, whether people should say this is writ well or ill, but that this was writ with a good design.—'He has written in the cause of virtue, and done something to mend people's morals': this is the only commendation I long for.—P[ope]." Spence, p. 301. Cf. also Pope's letter to Warburton, Nov. 12, 1741. Aaron Hill's criticism is pertinent: "I am sorry to hear you say, you never thought any great matters of your poetry. It is, in my opinion, the characteristic you are to hope your distinction from. To be honest, is the

In Durance, Exile, Bedlam, or the Mint,
Like *Lee* or *Budgell*, I will Rhyme and Print. 100

F. Alas young Man! your Days can ne'r be long,
In Flow'r of Age you perish for a Song!
Plums, and Directors, *Shylock* and his Wife,
Will club their Testers, now, to take your Life!

P. What? arm'd for *Virtue* when I point the Pen, 105
Brand the bold Front of shameless, guilty Men,
Dash the proud Gamester in his gilded Car,
Bare the mean Heart that lurks beneath a Star;
Can there be wanting to defend Her Cause,
Lights of the Church, or Guardians of the Laws? 110
Could pension'd *Boileau* lash in honest Strain
Flatt'ers and Bigots ev'n in *Louis'* Reign?
Could Laureate *Dryden* Pimp and Fry'r engage,
Yet neither *Charles* nor *James* be in a Rage?

100 *Budgell*] *B* ---- ll 1733-35a.

duty of every plain man. Nor, since the soul of poetry is sentiment, can a great poet want morality. But your honesty you possess in common with a million, who will never be remembered, whereas your poetry is a peculiar, that will make it impossible you should be forgotten" (Hill to Pope, Jan. 28, 1730-1). To this Pope replied (Feb. 5): "I am very sensible, that my poetical talent is all that may, I say not, will, make me remembered: but it is my morality only that must make me beloved, or happy; and if it be any deviation from greatness of mind, to prefer friendships to fame . . . I fairly confess that meanness. Therefore it is, sir, that I much more resent any attempt against my moral character, which I know to be unjust, than any to lessen my poetical one, which, for all I know, may be very just."

107. *the proud Gamester*] Horace Walpole thought that Pope referred to Jansen (see *Donna* ii 88), but the reference is vague enough to allow another thrust at Chartres.

108. "Perhaps the best line Pope ever wrote," S. Rogers, *Table Talk*, 1856, p. 28.

112. *Flatt'ers and Bigots*] in *Le Lutrin*.

113. *Pimp and Fry'r engage*] united in the character of Friar Dominick in *The Spanish Friar* (1680). Charles II had no reason to be enraged, for Dryden was satirizing not loose morals in general but the morals of the Catholic clergy, and for that reason the play was banned by James II on Dec. 8, 1686 (A. Nicoll, *Hist. of Restor. Drama*, 1928, p. 10).

And I not trip the Gilding off a Knave, 115
 Un-pled, un-pension'd, no Man, Hen, or Slave?
 I will, or perish in the zealous Cause.
 He is the and terrible 'scow who'scape the Laws.
 Yes, while I live, no rich or noble knave
 Shall walk the World, in credit, to his grave 120
 TO VIRTUE ONLY and HER FRIENDS, A FRIEND,
 The World be idle may murmur, or commend.
 Know, all the distant Din that World can keep
 Roll o'er my *Grotto*, and but soothe my Sleep.
 There, my Retreat the best Companions grace, 125
 Chiefs, out of War, and Statesmen, out of Place
 There *St. John* mingles with my friendly Bowl,
 The Feast of Reason and the Flow of Soul:
 And He, whose Lightning pierc'd th' *Iberian* Lines,
 Now, forms my *Quincunx*, and now ranks my Vines, 130

120 the World . . . grave | in peace and credit to the grave 1734-35a:
 the World in quiet to his grave 1735b in peace, and credit, to his
 grave 1735d

Isher of the Dunmad, 1720, vol. v. "As his Satyrs were the more just for being delay'd, so were his Panegyrics, bestow'd only on such persons as he had familiarly known, only for such virtues as he had long observ'd in them, and only at such times as others cease to praise if not begin to calumniate them, I mean when out of Power or out of Fashion." See also *Dia.* ii 74-5 and note.

127-8 Griffith (11193) notes that this couplet is in part borrowed from an anonymous poem, complimenting Bolingbroke, entitled *Dawley Farm*. The poem was published in *Fog's Weekly Journal* on June 26, 1731, and was attributed to Pope by a writer in the *Hyp-Doctor*, Nov. 9, 1731:

Wit more inspiring than his flowing Bowl;
 The Feast of Reason, and the Flow of Soul.

129. He] *Charles Mordaunt* Earl of Peterborough, who in the Year 1705 took *Barcelona*, and in the Winter following with only 280 Horse and 900 foot enterprized, and accomplished the capture [Conquest 1735] of *Valencia* [P. 1735-51].

130. *Quincunx* . . . *Vines*] A quincunx is a disposition of five trees by which four are placed at the corners, the fifth at the centre, of a square. In Serle's plan of Pope's garden, the grove (south of the bowling green) is not planted quincuncially. The vineyard lay to the west of the bowling green.

Quicquid sum ego, quomodo
Infra Lucili cenam, ingentiumque, tamen me 75
Cum magnis vivisse iuncta testatur usque
Invicta, & fragili quærens illudere dentem,
Offendet solidum.
Non quid tu, dicte Trebati,
Dissentis.

TREB. *Equidem nihil hinc diffindere possum.*
Sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti 80
Incutiat tibi quid sanctarum incussa legum.
 "Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina jus est
 Judiciumque."

HOR. *Eto, si quis mala; sed bona si quis*
Judice condiderit laudatur CÆSARE: si quis

131. Pattison quotes from Gay's *Fables* (1738), vol. ii No. 15, ll. 89-90:

'Tis mine to tame the stubborn plain,
 Break the stiff soil and house the grain.

Pope may also have had in mind two lines of Dryden (*Virgil's Georgics*, i 143, 4), of which he has marked his approval in his copy now in the British Museum:

For he with frequent Exercise Commands
 Th' unwilling Soil, and tames the stubborn Lands.

133. *I live among the Great* etc.] cf. Cleland's *Letter*, op. cit.; "In one point I must be allow'd to think the character of our English Poet the more amiable. He has not been a follower of fortune or success: He has liv'd with the Great without Flattery, has been a friend to Men in power without Pensions, from whom as he ask'd, so he receiv'd no favour but what was done Him in his friends."

140. *Mis*] The abbreviation of *misile* *misus*, which had recently become

Or tames the Genius of the stubborn Plain,
 Almost as quickly, as he conquer'd *Spain*.
Envy must own, I live among the Great,
 No Pimp of Pleasure, and no Spy of State,
 With Eyes that pry not, Tongue that ne'er repeats, 135
 Fond to spread Friendships, but to cover Heats,
 To help who want, to forward who excel;
 This, all who know me, know; who love me, tell;
 And who unknown defame me, let them be
 Scriblers or Peers, alike are *Mob* to me. 140
 This is my Plea, on this I rest my Cause—
 What saith my Council learned in the Laws?
F. Your Plea is good. But still I say, beware!
 Laws are explain'd by Men—so have a care.
 It stands on record, that in *Richard's* Times 145
 A Man was hang'd for very honest Rhymes.
 Consult the Statute: *quart.* I think it is,
Edwardi Sext. or *prim.* & *quint. Eliz.*
 See *Libels*, *Satires*—here you have it—read.
P. Libels and *Satires*! lawless Things indeed! 150
 But grave *Epistles*, bringing Vice to light,

145 *Richard's*] ancient 1733. 149 here] there 1733-35c.

popular. It was detested by Swift, who wrote in *Tatler* (1710), No. 230, "I have done my utmost for some years past, to stop the progress of *Mob* and *Banter*; but have been plainly born down by numbers, and betrayed by those who promised to assist me."

145. in *Richard's Times* etc.] *Stat. Westmin.* i c. 34, 3 Edward I was the first enactment against libel, which was further defined in 2 Ric. II *Stat.* i c. 5, and 12 Ric. II c. 11. The penalty was imprisonment, until the originator of the libel was found. 3 and 4 Edward VI c. 15 is "An Acte against fonde and fantastickall Prophetes"; 1 Eliz. c. 6 is "An Acte for the explanation of the Statute [1 Ph. and Mary c. 3] of sedytious Woordes and Rumours;" 5 Eliz. c. 15 deals with the same subject as 3 and 4 Edward VI c. 15. The maximum penalty allowed (1 Ph. and Mary) was imprisonment for life and loss of goods on the second offence.

150. *Satires* . . . *grave Epistles*] "You call your satires, libels: I would rather call my satires, epistles. They will consist more of morality than of wit, and grow graver, which you will call duller." Pope to Swift, Apr. 2, 1733.

“ ”

“ ”

“ ”

Such as a *King* might read, a *Bishop* write,
Such as Sir *Robert* would approve—

F. Indeed?

'The Case is alter'd— you may then proceed.

In such a Cause the Plaintiff will be hiss'd,

155

My Lords the Judges laugh, and you're dismiss'd.

FINIS

III
FOURTH SATIRE
OF
Dr. JOHN DONNE,
DIAN OF ST PAUL'S,
VERSIFIED

*Quid cetat, ut noimet Lucili scripta legentes
Quæreie, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
Ver uulov natura magis factos, & euntes
Mollius?* HOR. [Sat ix 56-9]

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The Impertinent, Or a Toast to the Court: A Satire, By an Eminent Hand was first published, anonymously, as a 16-page folio in 1733. Pope acknowledged his authorship by publishing a corrected and enlarged version in the folio volume of the collected works in 1735, when the poem was renamed *The Fourth Satire of Dr. John Donne*. Further revisions were made for the first octavo edition of the *Works* in 1737, and for the octavo *Works* of 1749 and of 1750. One subsequent revision first appeared in Warburton's edition. The present text observes the revisions of 1740 and 1751, but follows the punctuation and typography of the first edition, except in the use of inverted commas and notes of exclamation which have been regularized to prevent the reader's confusion. A error of punctuation has been silently corrected in l. 236. The text of Donne's poem is taken from the folio edition of 1735, which was the first occasion on which Pope printed it. The "second" and "third" editions of *The Impertinent*, published in folio by E. Hill in 1733, are reprinted from the first edition, and have no textual authority.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

- 1733 = First edition, Griffith 317.
1735^a = Works, vol. ii, folio, Griffith 370.
1735^b = Works, vol. ii, quarto, Griffith 372.
1735^c = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith, 388.
1735^d = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 389.
1739 = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 505.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.

THE FOURTH SATIRE OF Dr. JOHN DONNE

WHILE I may now receive, and see My sin
Indeed is great, but yet I have been in
A Purgatory, such as fear'd Hell is
A recreation, and want map of this.

My mind, neither with pride it itch, nor hath seen, 5
Poyson'd death love to see or to be seen,
I had no suit there, nor new suit to show,
Yet went to Court; But as Gilare which did go
To Mass in jest, catch'd, was fain to disburse
The hundred markes, which is the Statutes curse, 10
Before he scap't; So't pleas'd my destiny
(Guilty of my sin of going,) to think me
As prone to all ill, and of good as forget-
full, as proud, lustful, and as much in debt,
As vain, as witless, and as false as they 15
Which dwell in Court, for once going that way.

Therefore I suffer'd this; Towards me did run
A thing more strange, than on Niles slime, the Sun
E'er bred, or all which into Noah's Ark came:
A thing which would have pos'd Adam to name: 20
Stranger than seven Antiquaries studies,

Title. THE IMPERTINENT, OR, A Visit to the COURT.
A SATYR. 1733.

THE FOURTH SATIRE OF Dr. JOHN DONNE

WELL, if it be my time to quit the Stage,
 Adieu to all the Follies of the Age!
 I die in Charity with Fool and Knave,
 Secure of Peace at least beyond the Grave.
 I've had my *Purgatory* here betimes, 5
 And paid for all my Satires, all my Rhymes:
 The Poet's Hell, its Tortures, Fiends and Flames,
 To this were Trifles, Toys, and empty Names.
 With foolish *Pride* my Heart was never fir'd,
 Nor the vain Itch *t'admire*, or *be admir'd*; 10
 I hop'd for no *Commission* from his Grace;
 I bought no *Benefice*, I begg'd no *Place*;
 Had no *new Verses*, or *new Suit* to show;
 Yet went to COURT!—the Dev'l wou'd have it so.
 But, as the Fool, that in reforming Days 15
 Wou'd go to Mass in jest, (as Story says)
 Could not but think, to pay his *Fine* was odd,
 Since 'twas no form'd Design of serving God:
 So was I punish'd, as if full as *proud*,
 As prone to *Ill*, as negligent of *Good*, 20
 As deep in *Debt*, without a thought to pay,
 As *vain*, as *idle*, and as *false*, as they
 Who live at Court, for going once that Way! }
 Scarce was I enter'd, when behold! there came
 A Thing which *Adam* had been pos'd to name; 25
Noah had refus'd it lodging in his Ark,
 Where all the Race of *Reptiles* might embark:
 A verier Monster than on *Africk's* Shore

4 Peace at least] Happiness 1733.

19 So . . . full] Such was my Fate; whom Heav'n adjudg'd 1733-35b.

*Than Africks Monsters, Guianae rarities,
 Stranger than strangers: One who, for a Dane,
 In the Danes Massacre had sure been slain,
 If he had liv'd then; and without help dies,* 25
*When next the Prentices' gainst Strangers rise.
 One whom the Watch at noon lets scarce go by;
 One, to whom the examining Justice sure would cry,
 Sir, by your Priesthood tell me what you are?*

*His cloaths were strange, though coarse, and black though bare, 30
 Sleeveless his jerkin was, and it had been
 Velvet, but 'twas now (so much ground was seen)
 Become Tufftaffy; and our children shall
 See it plain Rash a while, then nought at all.*

*The thing hath travail'd, and faith, speaks all tongues, 35
 And only knoweth what to all States belongs.
 Made of th' Accents, and best phrase of all these.
 He speaks one language. If strange meats displease,
 Art can deceive, or hunger force my tast;
 But Pedants motly tongue, souldiers bumbast, 40
 Mountebanks drug-tongue, nor the termes of law,
 Are strong enough preparatives to draw
 Me to hear this, yet I must be content
 With his tongue, in his tongue call'd Complement:
 In which he can win widows, and pay scores, 45*

32-43 The Watch... ordain'd] *add.* 1735a-51.
 44-5 Our sons... away] *add.* 1735e-51.

32. The two rival collections of natural curiosities. Sloane's is now in the custody of the British Museum. Woodward's forms the nucleus of the Woodwardian Museum at Cambridge. See von Siffert's account of his visit to each (*Londre in 1710*, trs. Quarrell and Marc, 1932, pp. 175-8, 183-8) and *Biog. App.*

The Sun e're got, or slimy *Nilus* bore,
 Or *Sloane*, or *Woodward*'s wondrous Shelves contain; 30
 Nay, all that lying Travellers can feign.
 The Watch would hardly let him pass at noon,
 At night, wou'd swear him dropt out of the moon,
 One whom the mob, when next we find or make
 A Popish plot, shall for a Jesuit take; 35
 And the wise Justice starting from his chair
 Cry, by your Priesthood tell me what you are?

Such was the Wight: Th' apparel on his back
 Tho' coarse was rev'rend, and tho' bare, was black.
 The suit, if by the fashion one might guess, 40
 Was velvet in the youth of good Queen *Bess*,
 But mere tuff-taffety what now remained;
 So Time, that changes all things, had ordain'd!
 Our sons shall see it leisurely decay,
 First turn plain rash, then vanish quite away. 45

This Thing has *travell'd*, speaks each Language too,
 And knows what's fit for ev'ry State to do;
 Of whose best Phrase and courtly Accent join'd,
 He forms one Tongue exotic and refin'd.
 Talkers, I've learn'd to bear; *Motteux* I knew, 50
Henley himself I've heard, nay *Budgel* too:
 The Doctor's Wormwood Style, the Hash of Tongues,
 A Pedant makes; the Storm of *Gonson's* Lungs,
 The whole Artill'ry of the Terms of War,
 And (all those Plagues in one) the bawling Bar; 55
 These I cou'd bear; but not a Rogue so civil,

50 *Motteux*] *M*-u--x 1733-35b. 51 *Budgel*] *B*-dg-l 1733.

53 *Gonson's*] *G*-s-n's 1733-35b.

45. *rash*] a smooth textile fabric made of silk or worsted [OED].

52. This and *Dunciad* iv 231 are the first recorded instances of *Hash* used in the figurative sense. In the *Dunciad* the word is placed in Bentley's mouth, so Bentley may well be the doctor mentioned here, especially as *Wormwood Style*, i.e. a scolding style, describes Bentley's manner in controversy.

*Make men speak treason, couzen subtle trechons,
Out-flatter Favorites, or outlie either
Jovius, or Surius, or both together.*

*He names me, and comes to me; I ask for, Good
How have I sinn'd, that thy a rather furrows it, 50
Thy fellow, chuseth me! He saith, Sir,
I love your judgment, to whom do you prefer
For the best Linguist? and I seelily
Said that I thought Calepines Dictionary.
Nay, but of men, most sweet Sir? Beza then, 55
Some Jesuits, and two reverend men
Of our two Academies I named: here
He stopt me, and said, Nay, your Apostles were
Good pretty Linguists, so Panurgus was;
Yet a poor Gentleman; all these may pass 60
By travail. Then, as if he would have sold
His tongue, he prais'd it, and such wonders told,
That I was fain to say, If you had liv'd, Sir,
Time enough to have been Interpreter
To Babel's bricklayers, sure the Tower had stood. 65*

66-7 Permit . . . name] 1733 reads

Well met (he cries) and happy sure for each,
For I am pleas'd to learn, and you to teach;

61. See *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 146n. But perhaps Burnet, in this context, is the Bishop of Salisbury whose *History of his own Times* had given special offence to Pope's friend, Peterborough, on account of its "scandalous [mis]representations." See Spence, pp. 152, 4.

68. *The King's*] George II spoke with a German accent. The phrase *The King's English* had been in use since Shakespeare's day, see *Merry Wives* (i iv 5, *Arden* edition).

Whose Tongue can complement you to the Devil,
 A Tongue that can beat Widows, cancel Scores,
 Make *Saints* speak, *Lucas* madden, blight *Whores*,
 With *Roswell* canute, in *Flattery* vie,
 And *O. Inver* and *Barr* both out-lie. 60

He spake me out, I whisper, gracious God!
 What Sin of mine cou'd merit such a Rod?
 That all the Shot of Dulness now must be
 From this thy Blunderbuss discharg'd on me! 65
 "Permit he cries, no stranger to your fame
 "To crave your sentiment, if 't's your name.
 "What *Speech* seem you most?" "The *King's*," said I,
 "But the best *Words*." "O Sir, the *Dictionary*."
 "You miss my aim; I mean the most acute 70
 "And perfect *Speaker*." "On *lou*, past dispute."
 "But Sir, of *Writers*?" "Swift, for closer Style,
 "And *Ho* y for a Period of a Mile."
 "Why yes, 'tis granted, these indeed may pass
 Good common Linguists, and so *Panurge* was: 75
 Nay troth, th' *Apostles*, (tho' perhaps too rough)
 Had once a pretty Gift of Tongues enough.
 Yet these were all *poor Gentlemen*! I dare
 Affirm, 'twas *Travel* made them what they were."
 Thus others Talents having nicely shown, 80
 He came by sure Transition to his own:

81 sure] soft 1733-35b.

72. *close*] i.e. more concise.

73. "As a [controversial] writer [Bishop Hoadly] possessed uncommon talents; his greatest defect was in his style, extending his periods to a disagreeable length, for which Pope has thus recorded him." Nichols iii 140. See also *Dunziad* A ii 370 (Pope's note).

75. For Panurge's fluency in languages see Rabelais, Book ii, Ch. ix.

*He is, 'tis oft that he looks on the road,
 To see what beauties I am in alone
 Melancholy, but Spartans fashion
 To teach by painting husbands clothed last
 None, Aristotle pictures have made false;
 No more can Protes Count, though there be few
 Better pictures of vice, teach me virtue.* 70

*He like to a high-streight Lute-string squeakt, O sir,
 'Tis sweet to talk of Kings. At Westminster,
 Said I, the man that keeps the Abby tombs,
 And for his price, doth us all who ever comes
 Of all our Harrys, and our Edwards talk,
 From King to King, and all their kin can talk:
 Your eares shall hear nought but Kings; your eyes meet
 Kings only: The way to it is Kings street. 80
 He smack'd, and cry'd, He's base, mechanic, course,
 So' are all your Englishmen in their discourse.
 Are not your Frenchmen neat? Mine, as you see,*

86 for [Courts . . . made] I love you, I profess, 1733.
 87 Why then . . . shade] But wish you lik'd Retreat a little less; 1733.

89. *Druggerman*] A variant of *dragoman*, an interpreter, or more strictly one who interprets in countries where Arabic, Turkish, or Persian is spoken [OED].

91. From Cicero's *De Officiis* lib. iii cap. i: Publium Scipionem . . . eum, qui primus Africanus appellatus sit, dicere solitum scripsit Cato, . . . *Nunquam se*

- Till I cry'd out, "You prove yourself so able,
 "Pity! you was not Druggerman at *Babel*;
 "For had they found a Lingua I shall so good,
 "I make no question but the *Tow'r* had stood." 85
 "Obliging Sir! for Courts you sure were made;
 "Why then for ever buried in the shade?
 "Spirits like you, believe me, shou'd be seen,
 "The King would smile on you—at least the Queen?"
 "Ah gentle Sir! you Courtiers so cajol us— 90
 "But *Tully* has it, *Nunquam minus solus*!"
 "But as for *Courts*, forgive me if I say,
 "No Lessons now are taught the *Spartan* way:
 "Tho' in his Pictures Lust be full display'd,
 "Few are the Converts *Aretine* has made; 95
 "And tho' the Court show *Vice* exceeding clear,
 "None shou'd, by my Advice, learn *Virtue* there."
 At this, entranc'd, he lifts his Hands and Eyes,
 Squeaks like a high-stretch'd Lutestring, and replies:
 "Oh 'tis the sweetest of all earthly things 100
 "To gaze on Princes, and to talk of Kings!"
 "Then happy Man who shows the Tombs!" said I,
 "He dwells amidst the Royal Family;
 "He, ev'ry Day, from *King* to *King* can walk,
 "Of all our *Harries*, all our *Edwards* talk, 105
 "And get by speaking Truth of Monarchs dead,
 "What few can of the living, *Ease* and *Bread*."
 "Lord! Sir, a meer *Mechanick*! strangely low,

89-91 1733 reads

- "And (like *Ulysses*) visit Courts, and Men.
 "So much *alone*, (to speak plain Truth between us)
 "You'll die of Spleen" . . . Excuse me, *Nunquam minus* . . .

minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus; nec minus solus, quam cum solus esset.

95. Pietro Aretino wrote some lascivious sonnets (1529) to accompany drawings by Giulio Romano.

I have but one Sir, look, he follows me.
Certes they are neatly cloath'd. I, of this mind am, 85
Your only wearing is your Circumam.
Not so Sir, I have more. Under this pitch
He would not fly; I chaf'd him: But as Itch
Scratch'd into smart, and as blunt Iron groun'd
Into an edge, hurts worse: So, I' fool found, 90
Crossing hurt me. To fit my sullenness,
He to another key his style doth dress;
And asks, what news; I tell him of new plays,

He takes my hand, and as a Still which staves
A Sembrief, 'twixt each drop, he niggardly, 95
As loath to enrich me, so tells many a ly,
More than ten Hollensheads, or Halls, or Stows,
Of trivial household trash: He knows, he knows
When the Queen frown'd, or smil'd, and he knows what
A subtle States-man may gather of that; 100
He knows who loves whom; and who by poyson
Hasts to an Offices reversion;

112 so] well 1733-35d.

113. *Padua-say*] A strong corded or gros-grain silk fabric, much worn in the eighteenth century by both sexes [OED].

116. cf. Oldham's *Imitation of Horace*, Book I. Satyr IX, ll. 16-17:

Mean time, wild to get loose, I try all ways
 To shake him off . . .

See Introduction, p. xxviii.

125. *Enache*] see Ep. 11105. *Harlequin*] a part in eighteenth-century pantomime, frequently played at this time by Rich (see Biog. App.).

126-9.

I know you dread all those who write,
 And both with mouth and hand recite;
 Who slow and leisurely rehearse,

"And coarse of Phrase—your *English* all are so.
 "How elegant your *Frenchman*?"—"Mine, d'ye mean? 110
 "I have but one, I hope the Fellow's clean."
 "Oh! Sir, politely so! nay, let me dye,
 "Your only wearing is your *Padua-soy*."
 "Not Sir, my only—I have better still,
 "And this, you see, is but my Dishabille—" 115
 Wild to get loose, his Patience I provoke,
 Mistake, confound, object, at all he spoke.
 But as coarse Iron, sharpen'd, mangles more,
 And Itch most hurts, when anger'd to a Sore;
 So when you plague a Fool, 'tis still the Curse, 120
 You only make the Matter worse and worse.

He past it o'er; affects an easy Smile
 At all my Peevishness, and turns his Style.
 He asks, "What *News*?" I tell him of new Plays,
 New Eunuchs, Harlequins, and Operas. 125
 He hears; and as a Still, with Simples in it,
 Between each Drop it gives, stays half a Minute;
 Loth to enrich me with too quick Replies,
 By little, and by little, drops his Lies.
 Meer *Houshold Trash*! of Birth-Nights, Balls and Shows, 130
 More than ten *Holingsheds*, or *Halls*, or *Stows*.

122 affects] put on 1733. 123 turns] chang'd 1733.

As loath t'enrich you with their verse;
 Just as a still, with simples in it,
 Betwixt each drop stays half a minute.
 That simile is not my own,
 But lawfully belongs to Donne.

Pope to Cromwell, July 12, 1707. Mr Aulrhas pointed out to me that Pope used the same image in *Guardian* No. 92 (*Prose*, i 127).

130. *Birth-Nights*] the splendid celebrations on royal birthdays.

131. *Holinshead's Chronicles* was published in 1576, Hall's in 1542; for *Stow* see Ep. ii 166a. "Every reader of these old chroniclers knows how they mingle with their account of the greater events of each year mention of trifling events" [Grierson].

Who wasts in meat, in clothes, in horse, he notes,
 Who loveth whores, and who boys, and who goats.
 He knows who hath sold his land and now doth beg 105
 A license, old iron, boots, shoes, and egge-
 Shels to transport; shortly, boyes shall not play
 At span-counter, or blow-point, but shall pay
 Toll to some Courtier; and wiser then all us,
 He knows what Lady is not painted. Thus 110
 He with home meats cloyes me. I belch, spue, spit,
 Look pale, and sickly, like a Patient, yet
 He thrusts on more, and as he had undertook
 To say Gallo-Belgicus without book,
 Speaks of all States and deeds that have been since 115
 The Spaniards came, to th' loss of Amyens.

132. *the Queen*] Donne was referring straightforwardly to the reigning monarch, Queen Elizabeth. But there was no need for Pope to make any change. Walpole, the "subtle minister," and indeed every one else except the King, recognized that though George II reigned, it was Queen Caroline who ruled.

134. *Rug*] i.e. safe. OED quotes *Tatler* No. 39: "all rug, as the gamesters say, when they have a trick to make the game secure."

142. Pope refers to the scandal of the Charitable Corporation, founded in 1730 to lend money to the Poor. Complaints began to be made in 1731, and in 1732 the directors were found guilty of embezzlement. See Pope's note to *Moral Ex.* iii 100.

144. The turnpike system of exacting toll from travellers for road repairs was

When the *Queen* frown'd, or smil'd, he knows; and what
 A subtle Minister may make of that?
 Who sins with whom? who got his Pension *Rug*,
 Or quicken'd a Reversion by a *Drug*? 135
 Whose Place is *quarter'd out*, three Parts in four,
 And whether to a Bishop, or a Whore?
 Who, having lost his Credit, pawn'd his Rent,
 Is therefore fit to have a *Government*?
 Who in the *Secret*, deals in Stocks secure, 140
 And cheats th'unknowing Widow, and the Poor?
 Who makes a *Trust*, or *Charity*, a Job,
 And gets an Act of Parliament to rob?
 Why *Turnpikes* rise, and now no Cit, nor Clown
 Can *gratis* see the *Country*, or the *Town*? 145
 Shortly no Lad shall *chuck*, or Lady *vole*,
 But some excising Courtier will have Toll.
 He tells what Strumpet Places sells for Life,
 What 'Squire his Lands, what Citizen his Wife?
 And last (which proves him wiser still than all) 150
 What Lady's Face is not a whited Wall?
 As one of *Woodward's* Patients, sick and sore,
 I puke, I nauseate,—yet he thrusts in more;

144 rise] rose 1733-9. now] why 1733-35b.

started in Charles II's reign, but it made little headway against popular feeling until the middle of the eighteenth century. One of the government's excuses in 1737 for maintaining the army at the previous year's figure was that a large force was needed to deal with rioters who destroyed the turnpikes (Egmont, ii 350).

146. *chuck*] play at chuck-farthing.

vole] win all the tricks at ombre or quadrille.

147. *excising*] see *Sat.* ii 134n.

152. Woodward's practice of administering emetics to his patients was a fruitful source of contemporary jest and controversy. See *Three Hours after Marriage* by Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot *passim*, and L. M. Beattie, *John Arbuthnot*, 1935, pp. 242 ff.

Like a big wife, at sight of loathed meat,
 Ready to travail: so I sigh, and sweat
 To hear this Makaron talk: in vain, for yet,
 Either my humour, or his own to fit, 120
 He like a privileg'd spie, whom nothing can
 Discredit, libels now 'gainst each great man.
 He names a price for every office paid;
 He saith, our wars thrive ill, because delay'd;
 That Offices are intail'd and that there are 125
 Perpetuities of them, lasting as far
 As the last day; and that great Officers
 Do with the Spaniards share, and Dunkirkers.
 I more amaz'd than Circes prisoners, when
 They felt themselves turn beasts, felt my self then 130
 Becoming Traytor, and methought I saw
 One of our Giant Statues ope his jaw,
 To suck me in for hearing him: I found
 That as burnt venomous Leachers do grow sound
 By giving others their sores, I might grow 135

154 Trims . . . part] Shows Poland's Int'rests, takes the Primate's part, 1733.

154, var. *Poland's Int'rests*] The Polish Succession was disputed on the death of Augustus II in 1733 by Augustus, the late king's son, and Stanislaus, who had previously been crowned by the Swedes and subsequently dethroned by the Russians. Stanislaus, who was supported by the French, was elected through the influence of the Primate of Poland, but was driven from his kingdom by the Russians, who forced the Poles to acknowledge Augustus. The Primate refused to take the new oath of allegiance and was sent prisoner to Elbing, where in spite of threats he persisted in fidelity to Stanislaus. George II's anti-French sympathies lay with Augustus, but Walpole, who favoured the claims of Stanislaus, contrived to keep England out of the war. The preliminaries of peace were signed in 1735, and a definite peace made in 1738.

155. *The London Gazette* has been in circulation since 1665; *The Post Boy* started in 1695, and continued as *The Daily Post Boy* from 1728 till 1735.

159. *the Great Man*] Walpole. See Pope's note to *Dis.* l. 26. "Pope gives his satire a double edge by making the courtier confirm all the charges brought against Walpole's government by the opposition" [EQ].

Trims *Europe's* Balance, tops the Statesman's part,
 And talks *Gazettes* and *Post-Boys* o'er by heart. 155
 Like a big Wife at sight of loathsome Meat,
 Ready to cast, I yawn, I sigh, and sweat:
 Then as a licens'd Spy, whom nothing can
 Silence, or hurt, he libels the *Great Man*;
 Swears every *Place* entail'd for Years to come, 160
 In sure *Succession* to the Day of Doom:
 He names the *Price* for ev'ry *Office* paid,
 And says our *Wars* thrive ill, because *delay'd*;
 Nay hints, 'tis by Connivance of the Court,
 That *Spain* robs on, and *Dunkirk's* still a Port. 165
 Not more Amazement seiz'd on *Circe's* Guests,
 To see themselves fall endlong into Beasts,
 Than mine, to find a Subject staid and wise,
 Already half turn'd Traytor by surprize.
 I fear'd th' Infection slide from him to me, 170
 As in the Pox, some give it, to get free;
 And quick to swallow me, methought I saw

157 and sweat] I sweat 1733-35d.

170 fear'd] felt 1733-35a, 1739-43.

162. It was common knowledge that Walpole bribed extensively.

163. Walpole's policy of avoiding European wars was constantly criticized by the Opposition, who feared that the unchecked growth of French power would be a menace to English liberties.

165. Complaints were often made at this time of the seizure of English merchant ships by Spanish guarda-costas. These eventually led to the War of Jenkins's Ear (1739). See *Dia.* i 18a.

Dunkirk] By the ninth article of the Treaty of Utrecht (1712), it had been stipulated that France should demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, a port from which privateers inflicted considerable damage on English shipping. In 1713 Lord Stair had been sent to Paris to insist on the strict execution of this article (*Polit. Hist. Eng.* ix 234). In February 1730 Wyndham surprised the Government by bringing seamen to the bar of the House to testify that the harbour was being repaired (Egmont, i 35 f.). The charge was repeated in January

1733.

Guilty, and he free: *Therefore I did shew*
All signes of loathing; but since I am in,
I must pay mine, and my forefathers sin
To the last farthing. Therefore to my power
Toughly and stubbornly I bear this cross; but the houer 140
Of mercy now was come: He tries to bring
Me to pay a Fine to 'scape his torturing,
And sayes, Sir, can you spare me? I said: willingly;
Nay, Sir, Can you spare me a Croten? Thankfully I
Gave it, as ransom; but as Fidlers, still, 145
Though they be paid to be gone, yet needs will
Thrust one more jigg upon you: so did he
With his long complemental thanks vex me:
But he is gone, thanks to his needy want,
And the Prerogative of my Crown: Scant 150
His thanks were ended, when I (which did see
All the Court fill'd with more strange things than he)
Ran from thence with such, or more haste than one
Who fears more actions, doth hast from prison.
At home in wholesom solitariness 155
My piteous soul began the wretchedness
Of suiters at court to mourn, and a Trance
Like his, who dream't he saw hell, did advance
It self o're me: Such men as he saw there

178 *Fannius*] *Naso's* 1733.

180 I quak'd at heart; and] I blest my Stars! but 1733.

182 Ran] Run 1733-35d.

173. See the conclusion of Donne's second satire.

175. A cask full of his lies is tilted up, and one is ready to flow over.

177. *Umbra*] see Pope's character of *Umbra*, vol. vi.

178. *Fannius self*] Lord Hervey. Pope alluded to this characteristic again in *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, ll. 319, 356.

186. cf. *Comus*, ll. 375-8:

And Wisdoms self

One of our Giant *Statutes* ope its Jaw!
 In that nice Moment, as another Lye
 Stood just a-tilt, the *Minister* came by. 175
 Away he flies. He bows, and bows again;
 And close as *Umbra* joins the dirty Train.
 Not *Fannius* self more impudently near,
 When half his Nose is in his Patron's Ear.
 I quak'd at heart; and still afraid to see 180
 All the Court fill'd with stranger things than he,
 Ran out as fast, as one that pays his Bail,
 And dreads more Actions, hurries from a Jail.

Bear me, some God! oh quickly bear me hence 185
 To wholesome Solitude, the Nurse of Sense:
 Where Contemplation prunes her ruffled Wings,
 And the free Soul looks down to pity Kings.
 There sober Thought pursu'd th'amusing theme

186 Where] Here 1733; There 1735a-d.

188 There . . . theme] Here still Reflection led on sober Thought,
 1733.

Oft seeks to sweet retired Solitude,
 Where with her best nurse Contemplation
 She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings.

Wakefield notes that Pope's friend, Hughes, had expressed the thought in the same words in *A Thought in a Garden* (1704), *Poems* (1733) 1171:

Here Contemplation prunes her Wings.

I save at Court, and a orse, and more. Love fear 160
Becomes the guilty, not th' accuser: Then,
Shall I, none's slave, of high born or rais'd men
Fear frowns; and my mistress Truth, betray thee
For th' huffing, braggart, puffed Nobility?
No, no, Thou which since yesterday hast been 165
Almost about the whole world, hast thou seen,
O Sun, in all thy journey, Vanity,
Such as swells the bladder of our Court? I
Think he which made your Waxen garden, and
Transported it, from Italy, to stand 170
With us at London, flouts our Courtiers; for
Just such gay painted things, which no sap, nor
Tast have in them, ours are; and natural
Some of the stocks are, their fruits bastard all.

'Tis ten a clock and past; all whom the Mues, 175
Baloun, or Tennis, Diet, or the stews

189 Till . . . Dream] which Fancy colour'd, and a Vision wrought
 1733. 191 force] bring 1733.

Donne l. 169. A Show of the Italian Gardens in Waxwork, in the time of King James the First. [P. 1733a-51]. Grierson quotes a passage from Drayton's *Heroical Epistles* (1597) referring to these gardens.

206. A famous Show of the COURT of FRANCE in Waxwork. [P. 1733-51].

Modelled by one of the Gossett family and exhibited in London in March 1731 (Egmont i 160).

213. *Fig's*, a Prize-fighter's Academy, where the young Nobility receiv'd instruction in those days: *White's* was a noted gaming-house. It was also customary for the nobility and gentry to visit the condemned criminals in Newgate. [P.

Till Fancy colour'd it, and form'd a Dream.
 A *Vision* Hermits can to Hell transport, 190
 And force ev'n me to see the Damn'd at Court.
 Not *Dante* dreaming all th' Internal State,
 Beheld such Scenes of *Envy*, *Sin*, and *Hate*.
 Base Fear becomes the Guilty, not the Free;
 Suits Tyrants, Plunderers, but suits not me. 195
 Shall I, the Terror of this sinful Town,
 Care, if a livery'd Lord or smile or frown?
 Who cannot flatter, and detest who can,
 Tremble before a *noble Serving-Man*?
 O my fair Mistress, *Truth*! Shall I quit thee, 200
 For huffing, braggart, puffed *Nobility*?
 Thou, who since Yesterday, hast roll'd o'er all
 The busy, idle Blockheads of the Ball,
 Hast thou, O *Sun*! beheld an emptier sort,
 Than such as swell this Bladder of a Court? 205
 Now pox on those who shew a *Court in Wax*!
 It ought to bring all Courtiers on their backs.
 Such painted Puppets, such a varnish'd Race
 Of hollow Gewgaws, only Dress and Face,
 Such waxen Noses, stately, staring things, 210
 No wonder some Folks bow, and think them *Kings*.
 See! where the *British* Youth, engag'd no more
 At *Fig's* at *White's*, with *Felons*, or a *Whore*,

193 Beheld such Scenes] Saw such a Scene 1733.

212 See! where] And now 1733. 213 at *White's*] or *White's* 1733-9.

1735-51]. For *White's* see *Donne*, ii 88a. *Fig's* was an amphitheatre in Marylebone owned by James *Fig* (d. 1734), who gave lessons in self-defence there, and provided exhibitions of bear-baiting, etc. *Bramston* wrote in his *Art of Politics* (1729) p. 41:

A Man of Business won't 'till ev'ning dine,
 Abstains from Women, Company, and Wine:
 From *Fig's* new Theatre he'll miss a Night,
 Tho' Cocks, and Bulls, and Irish Women fight.

He, who, to me, were held, to be the count
That men are best, that live, with the least count
In the Precious, and I, God of us none
A few hours' vacation Attain'd to be 180
The joys they sold to buy them, I have known
Their hearts can, on the latter, be so soon
Them next week to the Theatre lose"
Wardrobe and state, Measure they are sold
At stage, as Court, All are flayers, Who are sold 185
But themselves dare not go o'er Cheap'side Brooks,
Shall find their wardrobes Incubators, And
The Ladies come, As Pirates, which do know
That there came creek ships fraught with Cutchanel,
The men board them; and praise, as they think well, 190
Their beauties, then the mens wits, both are bought.
Why good wits ne'er wear scarlet gowns, I thought
This cause, These men, mens wits for speeches buy,
And women buy all reds which scarlets die,
He call'd her beauty limetings, her hair net. 195
She fears her draps ill lay'd, her hair loose set.
Would not Heraclitus laugh to see Maecine
From hat to shoe, himself at door refine,
As if the Presence were a Mosch: and list
His skirts and hose, and call his clothes to shrift, 200
Making them confess not only mortal
Great stains and holes in them, but remal
Feathers and dust, where-with they fornicate:
And then by Durer's rules survey the state

219. cf. *Ep.* ii 332.

220. The Licensing Act was not passed until 1737, four years later; nor had Barnard's Licensing Bill yet been mooted. The line still awaits explanation.

223. Sir Fopling Flutter was a famous character in Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676).

236. Heraclitus was "the weeping philosopher." Pope suggests that even he

Pay their last Duty to the *Court*, and come
 All fresh and fragrant, to the *Darlar-Room*: 215
 In Hues, as gay, and Odour, as divine,
 As the fair Field they sold to look so fine.
 "That's *Wit* for a *Kim* — the *Hattier* swears;
 'Tis true, for ten day hence 'twill be *King Lear*'s.
 Our *Court* may justly to our Stage give Rules, 220
 That helps it both to *Fool*'s-*Cats* and to *Fools*.
 And why not Players' trust in Courtiers' Cloaths?
 For these are Actors too, as well as those:
 Wants reach all States; they beg but better dress,
 And all is *splendid Poverty* at best 225
 Painted for sight, and essenc'd for the smell,
 Like *Frigates* fraught with Spice and Clove-hill,
 Sail in the *Ladies*: How each *Pirate* eyes
 So weak a Vessel, and so rich a Prize!
 Top-gallant he, and she in all her Trim, 230
 He boarding her, she striking sail to him.
 "Dear Countess! you have Charms all Hearts to hit!"
 And "sweet Sir *Fopling*! you have so much wit!"
 Such Wits and Beauties are not prais'd for nought,
 For both the Beauty and the Wit are bought. 235
 'Twou'd burst ev'n *Heraclitus* with the Spleen,
 To see those Anticks, *Fopling* and *Courtin*:
 The *Presence* seems, with things so richly odd,
 The Mosque of *Mahound*, or some queer *Pa-god*.
 See them survey their Limbs by *Durer's Rules*, 240
 Of all Beau-kind the best proportion'd Fools!

216 In Hues] Colours 1733. 232 Dear Countess] Chere Comtesse 1733.

would burst his spleen with laughter (a common expression) at these antics. There was no confusion in Pope's mind between Heraclitus and Democritus, "the laughing philosopher," as EC supposed.

238. *Presence*] presence-chamber.

240. *Durer's Rules*] Dürer's *Vier bücher von menschlicher Proportion* was published in 1528 a few months after his death.

Of his each limb, and with strings the odds tries 205
Of his neck to his leg, and a aste to thighs.
So in immaculate clothes, and Symmetry
Perfect as Circles, with such nicety
As a young Preacher at his first time goes
To preach, he enters, and a Lady; which cures 210
Him not so much as good will, he arrests,
And unto her protests, protests, protests,
So much as at Rome it could serve to hate throu n
Ten Cardinals into the Inquisition;
And whispers by Jesu so oft, that a 215
Purserant would have ravish'd him away
For saying our Ladies Psalter. But 'tis fit
That they each other plague, they merit it.

But here comes Glorius that will plague them both,
Who in the other extreme only doth 220
Call a rough carelessness, good fashion:
Whose cloak his spurs tear, or whom he spits on,
He cares not, he. His ill words do no harm
To him; he rushes in, as if arm, arm,
He meant to cry; and though his face be as ill 225
As theirs, which in old hangings whip Christ, still
He strives to look worse; he keeps all in awe;
Jests like a licens'd fool, commands like law.
Tyr'd, now I leave this place, and but pleas'd so
As men from gaols l' execution go, 230
Go through the great chamber (why is it hung

243 Those . . . Straw] Each idle Atom, or erroneous Straw; 1733.

244 But . . . Soul] What Terrors wou'd distract each conscious Soul 1733-35; the Soul] a Soul 1735c.

245 Crime] Sin 1733.

Adjust their Cloaths, and to Confession draw
 Those venial sins, an Atom, or a Straw;
 But oh! what Terrors must distract the Soul,
 Convicted of that mortal Crime, a Hole! 245
 Or should one Pound of Powder less bespread
 Those Monkey-Tails that wag behind their Head!
 Thus finish'd and corrected to a hair,
 They march, to prate their Hour before the Fair,
 So first to preach a white-glov'd Chaplain goes, 250
 With Band of Lily, and with Check of Rose,
 Sweeter than *Sharon*, in immaculate trim,
 Neatness itself impertinent in him.
 Let but the Ladies smile, and they are blest;
 Prodigious! how the Things *Protest, Protest:* 255
 Peace, Fools! or *Gonson* will for Papists seize you,
 If once he catch you at your *Jesu! Jesu!*
 Nature made ev'ry Fop to plague his Brother,
 Just as one Beauty mortifies another.
 But here's the *Captain*, that will plague them both, 260
 Whose Air cries Arm! whose very Look's an Oath:
 Tho' his Soul's Bullet, and his Body Buff!
 Damn him, he's honest, Sir,—and that's enuff.
 He spits fore-right; his haughty Chest before,
 Like batt'ring Rams, beats open ev'ry Door; 265
 And with a Face as red, and as awry,
 As *Herod's* Hang-dogs in old Tapestry,
 Scarecrow to Boys, the breeding Woman's curse;
 Has yet a strange Ambition to *look worse:*
 Confounds the Civil, keeps the Rude in awe, 270

247 Those . . . Head] The Monkey-Tail that wags behind his Head

1733. wag] wagd 1735a-d.

260 them] you 1733.

262 Tho' . . . Buff] What tho' his Soul be Bullet, Body Buff? 1733.

With the *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be*
 The *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be*
 Charm, *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be*
 And *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* 237
 I *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be*
 I *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be*
 Seas of *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be*
 Dred *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be*
 Which *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* 240
 To *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be*
 (With *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be*)
 Of my *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be*,
 I *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be* *can be*.

275. The Room hung with [old 1740-51] Tapestry, now very ancient [the phrase not in 1740-51], representing the *Seven Deadly Sins* [P. 1711-51] Donne and Pope refer to the early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries, bought by Wolsey for the "Legate's chamber at Hampton Court" in 1522, which now hang in the Great Watching Chamber there. It seems possible that these tapestries hung in the same position in late Elizabethan and Georgian days, for this room was used as the guard chamber of the Tudor Presence Chamber, which survived until Kent's alterations to the Palace in 1732, and it is clear that the poets

Jests like a licens'd Fool, commands like Law.
 Frighted, I quit the Room, but leave it so,
 As Men from Jails to Execution go;
 For hung with *Deadly Sins* I see the Wall,
 And lin'd with *Giants*, deadlier than 'em all: 275
 Each Man an *Ascapart*, of Strength to toss
 For Quoits, both *Temple-Bar* and *Charing-Cross*.
 Scar'd at the grizly Forms, I sweat, I fly,
 And shake all o'er, like a discover'd Spy.
 Courts are too much for Wits so weak as mine; 280
 Charge them with Heav'n's Artill'ry, bold *Divine*!
 From such alone the Great Rebukes endure,
 Whose *Satyr's sacred*, and whose Rage *secure*.
 'Tis mine to wash a few slight Stains; but theirs
 To deluge Sin, and drown a Court in Tears. 285
 Howe'er, what's now *Apocrypha*, my Wit,
 In time to come, may pass for *Holy Writ*.

FINIS

280 too much] no match 1733-35d.

noticed the Seven Deadly Sins when retiring from the Presence Chamber. In Cromwell's time, however, these tapestries hung in the Paradise Room. See H. C. Marillier, *The Tapestries at Hampton Court*, 1931, pp. 12-18; E. Law, *History of Hampton Court Palace*, 1888, ii 281. (Mr Edward Yates kindly helped me to some of this information.)

276. *Ascapart*] A Giant famous in [divers om. 1740-51] Romances. [P. 1733-51]. He was said to have been defeated by Sir Bevis of Southampton.

THE
SECOND SATIRE
OF THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
HORACE
PARAPHRASED.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The Second Satire of the Second Book of Horace Paraphrased was first published with the second edition of the *First Satire* as a 42-page folio in 1734. A few slight revisions were made for the folio and two octavo editions of the collected works in 1735, and for the octavo *Works* of 1739 and 1740. A plural is corrected to a singular in Warburton's first edition, 1751, which may or may not have had Pope's authority; otherwise no changes were made. The present text accepts the final revision of 1740, but follows the punctuation and typography of the first edition, from which the Latin text (with nine errors silently corrected) is also taken.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

- 1734 = First edition, quarto, Griffith 341.
1735^a = Works, vol. ii, folio, Griffith 370.
1735^b = Works, vol. ii, quarto, Griffith 372.
1735^c = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 388.
1735^d = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 389.
1739 = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 505.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, large octavo, Griffith 646.
1751^b = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, small octavo, Griffith 653.

SATIRA II

QUOD VIVAS, SATURAE, QUAE TUAE
 RATIONIBUS, QUAE TUAE MENTIS
 DIGNITAS, QUAE TUAE VIRTUTIS
 CUM DIGNITATE TUAE VIRTUTIS
 ACHILLES, FULCRUM, NEUTRUMQUE
 VENUS, LUMEN, PAVORQUE TUUM

Duam si petero

Per neminem talis, et laudum
Cura labor extuderit fastidia, tuas
Sperne cubum, silentium, et praeterea 10
Defendens praesentem hyemat mare, cum quae sit
Latrantem stomachum bene leniet, ungue, puta, aut
Qui partum? Non in casu nidore velut,
*Summa, sed in tempore est * * **

Vix tamen eripiam, pinto prorsum, elis puer 15
Hoc potius quam gallinæ, tergere palatum
Tanquam ad rem attineat quidquam, num res eris, et
Quam laudas, pluma? Laudas invane tribulam
Mullum, in singula quem manus pulmenta necesse est
Ducit te species video. Quo pertinet ergo 20
Proceros odisse lupos? quia scilicet illis
Majorem natura modum dedit, his brevis pondus
Porrectum magno magnum spectare catino
Vellem (aut Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus) at vos
Præsentis Austri! coquite horum opsonia. Quamvis 25

SATIRE II.] 1751 adds the sub-title 'To Mr. BETHEL.

8. *mentis*] sparkling.

9. *Bethel's Sermon*] see Biog. App. "Have you seen the last Satire of Horace in which you are so ill treated?" Pope to Bethel, Aug. 6 [1734], Egerton MS. 1948, l. 23.

17. *curious*] a hint taken from Creech's translation.

25. *Oldfield*] This eminent Glutton ran thro' a fortune of fifteen hundred

SATIRE II.

WHAT in this great the Virtue and the Art
 To eat and drink with cheerful heart,
 And make the best use of this transitory time,
 Let tell me friend, but talk before we dine
 Not when we eat Butcher's select and pride 5
 Turn your from mind and Pleas' of by-side,
 Not when from Plate to Plate your eye-balls roll,
 And the brandine eat the mantling bowl
 Hear Bethel's Sermon, one not vers'd in schools,
 But strong in sense and wise without the rules 10
 Go work, hunt, exercise! he thus began)
 Then scorn a homely dinner, if you can.
 Your wine lock'd up, your Butler stroll'd abroad,
 Or fish deny'd, the River yet un-thaw'd)
 If then plain Bread and milk will do the feat, 15
 The pleasure lie in *you*, and not the meat.
 Preach as I please, I doubt our curious men
 Will chuse a *Pheasant* still before a *Hen*;
 Yet Hens of *Guinea* full as good I hold,
 Except you eat the feathers, green and gold. 20
 Of *Carp*s and *Mullet*s why prefer the *great*,
 (Tho' cut in pieces e'er my Lord can eat)
 Yet for *small Turbots* such esteem profess?
 Because God made these large, the other less.
 Oldfield, with more than Harpy throat endu'd, 25
 Cries, "Send me, Gods! a whole Hog *barbecu'd*!"
 Oh blast it, South-winds! till a stench exhale,

14 fish deny'd] kept from fish 1734-39. 16 and not] not in 1734-35b.

pounds a year in the simple luxury of good eating [Warburton]. Croker believes him to have been Richard Oldfield who contested Windsor in the elections of 1738, but the evidence for this attribution has not been discovered. Oldfield is mentioned again in *Ep.* II is 87.

26. *barbecu'd*] A *West-Indian* Term of Gluttony, a Hog roasted whole, stuff'd with Spice, and basted with *Madera* Wine [*P.* 1735a-51].

Putes ipse rhombus perire cum mela perire
 Et rum collatit mactum, nec pulcherris
 Itque corda me ultro. Ne mactum
 Pauperesque non mactum mactum
 Neque periret mactum mactum

61

Tutus erat rhombus, tutoque romamulo,
 Denec rex auctor docuit Pretorius. Ego
 Siquis nunc mergos suavis eduxit aures,
 Parebit pravi docilis Romana juventus

Sordidus a tenui vultu distabit, Ofello
 Judice, nam frustra titam vultu eris istud,
 Si te alio prorum detorseris. Amidenus
 (Cui Canis ex vero ductum cognomen adheret)
 Quinquennes oleas est, & sylvestria corna

35

32 He . . . Meat] The sweetest thing will stunk that he can eat 17 34

37. *The Robin-red-breast*] A Hayward (*Art of Dining*, 1883, p. 37) reports that the robin is "remarkable for a delicate bitter flavour" and quotes from the *Almanach des Gourmands*. "Cet aimable oiseau se mange à la broche et en salmi."

38. *a Martin's nest*] cf. *Guardian* No. 61, May 21, 1713, by Pope "I fancy too, some Advantage might be taken of the common Notion, that 'tis ominous or unlucky to destroy some sorts of Birds, as *Swallows* and *Martins*, this Opinion might possibly arise from the Confidence these Birds seem to put in us by building under our Roofs, so that it is a kind of Violation of the Laws of Hospitality to murder them. As for *Robin-red-breasts* in particular, 'tis not improbable they owe their Security to the old Ballad of *the Children in the Wood*. However it be, I don't know, I say, why this Prejudice, well improved and carried as far as it would go, might not be made to conduce to the Preservation of many innocent Creatures, which are now exposed to all the Wantonness of an ignorant Barbarity."

39. *Bene-ficio*] A name given in Italy to small migratory birds of the genus

Rank as the ripeness of a Rabbit's tail.
 By what *Catzen* do ye eat, d'ye think,
 If this is priz'd for *sweetness*, that for *stink*? 30
 When the tur'd Glutton labours thro' a Treat,
 He finds no rich in the sweetest Meat;
 He calls for something bitter, something sour,
 And the rich feast concludes extremely poor:
 Cheap eggs, and herbs, and olives still we see, 35
 Thus much is left of old Simplicity!
 The *Robin-red-breast* till of late had rest,
 And children sacred held a *Martin's* nest,
 Till *Beau-ficos* sold so dev'lish dear
 To one that was, or would have been a Peer. 40
 Let me extoll a *Cat* on Oysters fed,
 I'll have a Party at the *Bedford Head*,
 Or ev'n to crack live *Crawfish* recommend,
 I'd never doubt at Court to make a Friend.
 'Tis yet in vain, I own, to keep a pother 45
 About one Vice, and fall into the other:
 Between Excess and Famine lies a mean,
 Plain, but not sordid, tho' not splendid, clean.
Andien or his Wife (no matter which,

He'll find . . . Meat 1735a-d.

Sylvia, much esteemed as dainties in the autumn, when they have fattened on figs and grapes identical with the British Pettychaps and Blackcaps [OED].

42. *Bedford Head* A famous Eating-house [and Tavern 1739]. [P. 1740-51]. In Southampton Street, Covent Garden. See *Sob. Adv.* l. 150.

49. *Andien . . . his Wife* A letter from Horace Walpole to Bentley, Aug. 1756 (Toynbee, iii 444), shows that this passage was generally recognized as a portrait of Wortley Montagu and Lady Mary: "Old Wortley Montagu lives [at Wharnciffe Lodge] on the very spot where the dragon of Wantley did, only I believe the latter was much better lodged you never saw such a wretched hovel; lean, unpainted, and half its nakedness barely shaded with harateen stretched till it cracks. Here the miser hoards health and money, his only two objects . . . I wanted to ask if Pope had not visited Lady Mary Wortley here during their intimacy, but could one put that question to *Andien* himself?" See also a letter to Mann, Jan. 27, 1761, and *Biog. App.*

Non enim in istis rebus, ut in illis, amicum
 Cum libere et iocunde potestis habere
 Nec reperta necesse est, ut in istis
 Iocum adest, sed in istis, ut in illis,
 Cum libus et rebus, ut in illis, non in istis
 Quodlibet, ut in illis, ut in istis, ut in illis
 Et tunc, ut in illis, ut in istis, ut in illis

Mundus erit qui non offendat cordibus, atque
 In neutram partem cultus mihi. Hinc, ut in istis
 Albus semis exemplo, dum munus dedit,
 Sarcis erit nec ut simplex. Natus, ut in istis
 Convivis præbebit aquam, ut in illis, ut in istis

Accipe nunc, victus tenuis quæ quantaque secum
 Afferat. In primis taleas bene nam caræ res
 Ut noceant homini credas, memini illius esse
 Quæ simplex olim tibi sederat, at simul assis
 Mascueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis,
 Dulcia se in bilem vertunt, stomachoque tumultum
 Lenta feret pituita. Vides, ut pallidus omnis
 Cena desurgat dubia, quin corpus onustum
 Hesternis vitis, animum quoque prægravat una,
 Atque affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ.

Alter ubi dicto citius curata sopori

¹ 31. *Sell* . . . *Partridge*] i.e. sell the presents which had been given to them. But compare *Ep.* II 234.

For him you'll call a dog, and her a bitch) 50

Sell their presented Partridges, and I fruits,

And humbly live on rabbits and on roots:

One half-pint bottle serves them both to dine,

And is at once their vinegar and wine.

But on some lucky day—as when they found

A lost Bank-bill, or heard their Son was drown'd) 55

At such a feast old vinegar to spare,

Is what two souls so gen'rous cannot bear;

Oyl, tho' it stunk, they drop by drop impart,

But sowse the Clabidge with a bounteous heart. 60

He knows to live, who keeps the middle state,

And neither leans on this side, nor on that:

Nor stops, for one bad Clerk, his Butler's pay,

Swears, like Albutius, a good Cook away;

Nor lets, like Nevius, ev'ry error pass,

The musty wine, foul cloth, or greasy glass. 65

Now hear what blessings Temperance can bring:

(Thus said our Friend, and what he said I sing.)

First Health: The stomach (cram'd from ev'ry dish,

A Tomb of boil'd, and roast, and flesh, and fish, 70

Where Bile, and wind, and phlegm, and acid jar,

And all the Man is one intestine war)

Remembers oft the School-boy's simple fare,

The temp'rate sleeps, and spirits light as air!

How pale, each Worshipful and rev'rend Guest 75

Rise from a Clergy, or a City, feast!

What life in all that ample Body, say,

What heav'nly Particle inspires the clay?

The Soul subsides; and wickedly inclines

To seem but mortal, ev'n in sound Divines. 80

On morning wings how active springs the Mind,

62 nor] or 1734-35b. 71 Where] When 1734-35b.

58. *their Son*] See Biog. App., E. W. Montagu (1715-76).

Mendicant — *could* — *for* — *man* — *the*

Hic tamquam metit et ostendit, ut patet, an
Si cepit in te patet et si verum 65
Senectus est et tunc cum si patet
Veritas autem et tunc cum si patet
Imbecillitas et tunc cum si patet
Quamvis et tunc cum si patet
Dux autem loquatur, et tunc cum si patet 70
Ranidum apium antiqua laetant et tunc cum si patet
Ille nullus erat, et tunc cum si patet
Tardius advenit, et tunc cum si patet
Integrum edax dominus consumet et tunc cum si patet
Heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset 75

Das aliquid Vama? 'quæ carmine gratior aurem
Occupat humanam, Cranes rhombi, patetque
Grande ferent una cum claudio, delectus. Adde
Iratum patrum, lucinos, te tibi iniquum,
Et frustra mortis cupulum, cum deerit egenti 80
As, laquei pretium.

95 More pleas'd] Better 1734-35d. could] should 1751b

88. *Sickness of long Life*] Wakefield quotes Terence (*Phormio* iv. 1. 9). *Senectus ipsa est morbus.*

89. *cordial drop*] See *Ep.* i. vi. 127n.

96. cf. Creech's translation, 1684:

Than eat it sweet, and by themselves at home.

98. *Cocomb-figs*] Branstator's *Man of Taste* (1733) was offended at "Sir Loins

That leave the Land of Freedom behind?
 How easy is it to be happy here?
 How common to the Pleasures of the
 Not but you must needs be here some time,
 Or find me out for the sake of Rhine
 Ill Health or a peevish humour or avengeage,
 And more the Suckling of the Old-age
 For fainting Aged what could drop remains,
 How intemperate Youth the Vessel drains?

65

90

Our Fathers prais'd drank Ven'son You suppose
 Perhaps, young men! our Fathers had no nose?
 Not so a Buck was then a week's repast,
 And 'twas their point, I wern, to make it last:
 More pleas'd to keep it till their friends could come,
 Than eat the sweetest by themselves at home.
 Why had not I in those good times my birth,
 E're Coxcomb-pyes or Coxcombs were on earth?

95

Unworthy He, the voice of Fame to hear,
 (That sweetest Music to an honest ear;
 For 'faith Lord Fanny! you are in the wrong,
 The World's good word is better than a Song)
 Who has not learn'd, fresh Surgeon and Ham-pye
 Are no rewards for Want, and Infamy!
 When Luxury has lick'd up all thy pelf,
 Curs'd by thy neighbours, thy Trustees, thyself,
 To friends, to fortune, to mankind a shame,
 Think how Posterity will treat thy name;

100

105

103 and] or 1734.

and rumps of beef," but

"Pleas'd with frogs fricassée, and coxcomb-pies."

See also Sat. II 146a.

101. *Lord Fanny*] Lord Hervey. The allusion in the next line still awaits explanation.

103. *Ham-pye*] see Sat. II 146a.

JOS. POPE, *Trist. v. 111*
perit, ut solis eodem lumine cuncta
Deus, hoc de templo ante oculos Iste
Quod superat, et cuncta meliora quod inferat
Cunctis hinc quod quanta se cuncta perat 115
Templum est iniqua Domus, ut rupe soluta
Non aliquid patrie hinc cuncta meliora
Et minimum tibi recte, emper eruditior!

(*O magnus posthac inimicus tuius' uter-ne*

115. Wakefield compares Sheffield (*Sheff. Herald*, II. 114)

But Truth unsaid d like a bright Sun appears,
 To shine away this Heap of sev'nteen hundred Years.

119. These were the churches in London and Westminster, provision for the building of which was made in the acts of 9 and 10 Anne and 1 Geo. I. Pope also refers to the dangerous condition of these churches in a note to *Moral Essays* 1697, where he states that the fault lay with their being founded on boggy ground. This charge cannot be substantiated by reference to any contemporary or modern handbook, and I should have been puzzled for an explanation but for the help of Miss E. Jeffries Davis. St John's, Smith Square, stands on marshy ground. It was commenced by Archer in 1713, but in the course of building, it sank so much that an alteration in the plans was needed, and two porticos and four corner towers were added so that each side might sink equally. Since bills for repairs were being paid till 1737, it may be assumed that the vestry suffered a prolonged anxiety (J. E. Smith, *St John the Evangelist, Westminster*, 1892, pp. 24, 25, 30, 38-9; and J. E. Smith, *Local Government in Westminster*, p. 80). St Anne's, Lincolnhouse, the work of Hawksmoor, was finished in 1724. It was later found that the tower, which was built on sand, had sunk and deranged the walls of the church (J. P. Malcolm, *Londonium Redivivum*, II. 82). St Luke's, Old Street, consecrated in 1733, was built on piles, because the soil was marshy (G. Henrassy, *Newcom Repertorium*, p. 271); but no anxiety about its stability has been discovered. Pope must have felt confirmed in his forebodings when the roof of the portico of St Martin-in-the-Fields gave way in October 1737 (*Vestry Minutes*).

120. *Mahomet*] Pope refers to the need of an embankment on the river front at Whitehall. Wren had completed Queen Mary's Terrace in 1693, but this was

And buy a Rope, that future times may tell
Thou hast at least bestow'd one penny well. 110

"Right, cries his Lordship, for a Rogue in need

"To have a Taste, is Insolence indeed:

"In me 'tis noble, suits my birth and state,

"My wealth unwieldy, and my heap too great."

Then, like the Sun, let Bounty spread her ray, 115
And shine that Superfluity away.

Oh Impudence of wealth! with all thy store,

How dar'st thou let one worthy man be poor?

Shall half the new-built Churches round thee fall?
Make Keys, build Bridges, or repair White-hall: 120

Or to thy Country let that heap be lent,

As M**o's was, but not at five *per Cent*.

Who thinks that Fortune cannot change her mind,

only 280 feet long (*H. C. C. Surrey of London*, vol. xii, St. Margaret's, Westminster, part ii, p. 59, and a quay had been formed south of the Duke of Richmond's property (*ibid.* p. 217), but between these the river formed "a kind of an irregular bay . . . where great quantities of mud & filth collect & settle" (*ibid.*). Yet in spite of this nuisance, nothing was done. Since Pope's two other suggestions refer to Westminster, it seems unlikely that he had in mind the scheme for building a quay along the river front of the City, which had been under consideration since 1671 (see S. Perks, *The Water Line of the City of London after the Great Fire*, 1935).

build Bridges] The Thames at this time was crossed by London Bridge only, in the London area; but an Act was passed in 1736, in spite of the opposition of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London (*Brit. Chronol.* Apr. 5, 1736), for the construction of Westminster Bridge. See Nicholas Hawksmoor's *Short Historical Account of London-Bridges; with a Proposition for a New Stone-Bridge at Westminster*, 1736, in which the possible sites for the new bridge are canvassed.

repair White-hall] Whitehall had been the King's palace since the time of Henry VIII. All but the banqueting hall was destroyed by fire in 1691 and 1698, and was never rebuilt, the ruins being allowed to cumber the ground for many years. See *Dunciad* A iii 324, and Pope's note.

122. The Duchess of Marlborough's own account (1737) reads: "From the beginning of the reduction of the interest I lent such sums to the government as reduced the interest from 6 *per cent* to 4 *per cent*.; thinking it would have a good effect for the security of the nation" (*Opinions*, 1788, p. 49).

Alia uis habet et alia mensura quædam 90

Purior uis uero uisum est quædam.

Augustinus ait quædam mensura est uisus.

Infinitum est uisus et infinitum est mensura.

Quoniam uisus est mensura est mensura mensura

Integritas mensura est mensura mensura 95

Quoniam uisus est mensura est mensura

Augustinus ait mensura est mensura mensura

Quidquid frater dicit mensura est mensura mensura

127. *On the care of the wife forecast and preventing care 1717*

129. Pope repeated this commendation in a letter to Allen, see Biog. App., Bethel.

133. *South-sea days*] The South Sea Bubble broke in the latter half of the year 1720, leaving in ruin thousands of people who had speculated. Pope wrote to Atterbury on Sept. 23 "As for the few who have the good fortune to remain, with half of what they imagined they had — among whom is your humble servant, I would have them sensible of their felicity. For the extent of Pope's speculations see FC v 184-7.

134. *Excise*] The excise was originally "a commodity tax paid indirectly by consumers as a contribution to the expenses of national defence" (Ashley, *Finan. and Comm. Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 1934, p. 62). But Walpole's Excise Bill of 1733 was a warehousing scheme designed to make England a storehouse for the temporary deposit of goods, and London a free port. The Opposition interpreted it as a general excise, which so much alarmed the public that Walpole decided to withdraw the measure. Pope wrote this line at the end of March 1733 (Introduction, p. xxiv), when the Government's success seemed a foregone conclusion. After Walpole had withdrawn the bill, the change from *e*'s to *g*'s was obviously necessary.

135. *In Forest*] Blenheim, in Windsor Forest, where the elder Pope had retired with his family about the year 1700 (Sherburn, p. 96).

136. *five acres*] at Twickenham, which Pope leased, with a house, from Thomas Vernon in 1718 (Sherburn, p. 217, and Biog. App., Vernon).

Prepares a dreadful Jest for all mankind!
 And who stands safe-st, tell me? is it he 125
 That spreads and swells in puff'd Prosperity,
 Or blest with little, whose preventing care
 In Peace provides fit arms against a War?
 Thus Bethel spoke, who always speaks his thought,
 And always thinks the very thing he ought: 130
 His equal mind I copy what I can,
 And as I love, would imitate the Man.
 In *South-sea* days not happier, when surmis'd
 The Lord of thousands, than if now *Excis'd*;
 In Forest planted by a Father's hand, 135
 Than in five acres now of rented land.
 Content with little, I can piddle here
 On Broccoli and mutton, round the year;
 But ancient friends, (tho' poor, or out of play)

134 if] ev'n 1734-35c. 135 Forest] Forests 1734-43.

137 *Content with little*] "I could not live with my Ld Bo[lingbroke] or Mr Pope, they are both too temperate and too wise for me, and too profound, and too poor," Swift to Arbuthnot, 1734 (Aitken's *Life and Works of Arbuthnot*, p. 156). But Lord Bathurst held a different opinion; he wrote to Lady Suffolk, July 1734, "You do well to reprove [Pope] about his intemperance; for he makes himself sick every meal at your most moderate and plain table in England. Yesterday I had a little piece of salmon just caught out of the Severn, and a fresh pike that was brought me from the other side of your house out of the Thames. He ate as much as he could of both, and mused upon his moderation, because he made his dinner upon one dish" (Suffolk, ii 81). Pope boasts of the simplicity of the diet at Twickenham in a letter to Atterbury, Mar. 19, 1721-2.

piddle] i.e. to toy with one's food [OED]. Pope speaks of piddling with his translation of Homer (Spence, p. 218), and also applies the word to Theobald (*Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 164).

138. *Broccoli*] Digby writes to Pope (Aug. 14, 1723), after visiting him at Twickenham, "How thrive your garden plants? How look the trees? How spring the broccoli and the fenocchio? Hard names to spell!"

139. With Pope's own description of his hospitality compare Lord Orrery's (quoted by Sherburn, p. 290), "... he treated his friends with a politeness that charmed, and a generosity that was much to his honour. Every guest was made happy within his doors. Pleasure dwelt under his roof, and elegance presided at his table."

I see the season of the year, the year
 See the season of the year, the year
 the year of the year
 See the pull of the year
 I see the year of the year
 the year of the year

Posthumulae sunt offa fere Maia,
As vincta vincta ut utm. vincta vincta,
Explorantur contumeliae fere 107
Saturatque neco morat Fortura tumultus
Quantum hinc immanet quanta unda, of vincta, and vincta
O pueri natus, ut hinc vincta Incolat vincta

143. *Banstead-down*] Banstead Downs, four miles from Epsom, are still noted for their sheep pasturage. It is a reason not to be nauseated even with mutton itself, though it came from Bagshot, or *Banstead Downs* (Sheffield's *Of Vulgar Errors*, Works (1723) ii 271).

144. *mutton . . . chicks*] This was the fare provided for Lord Oxford on a visit to Pope at Twickenham in February 1728-9. Oxford was asked, if he wished to drink good wine, to bring two bottles with him (EC viii 246-8).

147. *Epallus*] A fruit-tree trained on a lattice [OE13]

150. *double-tar'd*] see *Ep.* ii li 60n.

154. *Standing Armer*] see *Sat.* ii i 73n.

156. "I am but a *lodge* here" this is not an abiding city, I am only to stay out

That I 140
 Instruction
 But and
 To Homer's
 Hence
 In my 145
 And
 And in
 The de
 Then cheerful health
 And what sincere are a Poet's hall 150
 Fortune not much of humbling me can boast,
 Tho' double-tax'd how little have I lost
 My life
 Before and after Standing Armies come
 My lands are sold, my Father's house is gone, 155
 I'll hire another
 And yours my friends? thro' whose fire-opening gate
 None comes too early, none departs too late,
 (For I, who hold sage Homer's rule the best,
 Welcome the coming, speed the going guest) 160
 "Pray heav'n it last!" cries Swift) as you go on,
 "I wish to God this house had been your own.
 "Pity! to build, without a son or wife

150 a Poet) the Poet 1731

my lease, for what has perpetuity and mortal man to do with each other? But I
 could be glad you could take up with an inn at Twickenham, as long as I am
 host of it." Pope to Bethel, Aug. 9, 1736

159. sage Homer's rule] *Odyssey*, xv 83-4. Translated by Pope,

True friendship's laws are by this rule express,

161. cries Swift] "In his last translation of Horace, I could willingly have ex-
 cused his placing me not in that light which I would appear, and others are of
 my opinion, but it gives me not the least offence, because I am sure he had not
 the least ill intention, and how much I have always loved him, the world as well
 as your Lordship is convinced." Swift to Oxford, Aug. 30, 1734.

A non puto sePam connoisse, nec quid
 An pueri sompni faceret expertus. 116
 Puerum Nigrae, sed strumitum pueri
 Puerum extet et ethera uolante
 An pueri Undum submonum, et alia
 De pueri pueri pueri pueri
 An pueri, nunc alia Quia pueri pueri
 Pueri pueri pueri pueri pueri 117

164 Referring to Swift's *Ima Har.*, Set II vii. 10, printed below at p. 251
 168 to Peter Butler] Walter was buying up estates in Dorset at this time
 (Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, 1801, index. See Bdg. App.)

172 Pattison quotes from Hervey's *Memoirs* (p. 243): "Exposition was never
 reckoned among the merits of the Court of Chancery, but whilst Lord King pre-
 sided there (1725-33) the delays of it were insupportable."

175 *Shades*] Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of Sir Francis, had built a mansion at
 Gorhambury near St Albans, which was finished in the year 1568. From the
 Bacon family it passed to the Meautis family, from whom it was purchased by
 Sir Harbottle Grimston, whose son left it at his death in 1700 to his great-
 nephew, William Luckyn. Luckyn took the name of Grimston, and was raised to
 the peerage in 1719. He sat as Whig M. P. for St Albans 1710-22, 1727-34, and

"Why, you'll enjoy it only all your life."—
 Well, if the Use be mine, can it concern one 165
 Whether the Name belong to Pope or Vernon?
 What's *Property*? dear Swift! you see it alter
 From you to me, from me to Peter Walter,
 Or, in a mortgage, prove a Lawyer's share,
 Or, in a jointure, vanish from the Heir, 170
 Or in pure Equity (the Case not clear)
 The Chanc'ry takes your rents for twenty year:
 At best, it falls to some ungracious Son
 Who cries, my father's damn'd, and all's my own.
 Shades, that to Bacon could retreat afford, 175
 Become the portion of a booby Lord;
 And Hemsley once proud Buckingham's delight,
 Slides to a Scriv'ner or a City Knight.
 Let Lands and Houses have what Lords they will,
 Let Us be fix'd, and our own Masters still. 180

169 a Lawyer's] the Lawyer's 1734-35d.

174 Who cries] That cries 1734-35c. 175 Bacon] Ba***n 1734-35d.

176 Become] Are now 1734-39.

died in 1756. His reputation as a "booby Lord" is based on his play *The Lawyer's Fortune, or Love in a Hollow Tree*, 1705, which was reprinted in 1736 with derisive notes and a frontispiece in the foreground of which is an ass, wearing a coronet. Swift refers to him in *On Poetry*, ll. 375-7. See VCH *Herts* ii 396, GEC's *Complete Peerage*, and Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. Hill-Powell, iv. 80, 485-7.

177. proud Buckingham's delight] Villers, Duke of Buckingham [P. 1734-51]. Helmsley, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, came into the possession of the Duke in 1657 on his marrying the daughter of Lord Fairfax, who then owned it. The house and estates were sold in 1692 to Sir Charles Duncombe, a London banker, for the sum of (it is said) £90,000; this was "the greatest purchase ever made by any subject in England" (DNB *sub* Duncombe). See VCH *Yorks N.R.*, i 492.

SOBER ADVICE

FROM

H O R A C E,

TO THE

Young GENTLEMEN about Town.

As deliver'd in his

SECOND SERMON.

Imitated in the Manner of Mr POPE.

*Together with the ORIGINAL TEXT, as
restored by the Rev^d R. BENTLEY,
Doctor of Divinity. And some Remarks
on the VERSION.*

NOTE ON THE TEXT

Siler Adulterum Horace is his unpublished manuscript on a 124-page folio in 1734. It was reprinted in part, without change of text in 1737, and these sheets were reprinted in 1738 with a new title, *A Sermon against Adultery, Being Siler Adulterum Horace*. A few revisions were made in the text and the dedication and notes were dropped, when the poem was admitted into a volume of the collected works in 1738 with the title altered to *The Sermon of the First Book of Horace Imitated in the Manner of Mr Pope*. No further changes were made in the text for the editions of 1740 and 1743. The poem was not reprinted by Warburton (nor by Elwin and Courthope). The present text accepts the revisions of 1738 but follows the first edition in punctuation and typography. Contrary to his usual practice, Pope adopted Bentley's text of the Latin poem, which is here reprinted from the first edition with two errors silently corrected.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

- 1734 = First edition, Griffith 347
 1738 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
 1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
 1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.

TO
ALEXANDER POPE, Esq;

SIR,

I Have so great a Trust in your Indulgence toward me, as to believe you cannot but Patronize this Imitation, so much in your own Manner, and whose Birth I may truly say is owing to you. In that Confidence, I would not suppress the Criticisms made upon it by the *Reverend Doctor*, the rather, since he has promised to *mend the Faults* in the next Edition, with the same Goodness he has practised to *Milton*. I hope you will believe that while I express my Regard for you, it is only out of Modesty I conceal my Name; since, tho' perhaps, I may not profess myself your Admirer so much as some others, I cannot but be, with as much inward Respect, Good-will, and Zeal as any Man,

Dear Sir,
Your most Affectionate
AND
Faithful Servant.

Dedication] om. 1738-43.

Q. HORATII FLACCI SERMO II. L. I.

TEXTUM Recensuit

V. R. RICHARDS B.Litt. et S. I. P.

Ambulandum Regina, per omnes foveas,
Membra, membra, locustis, ut cuncta perire
Maestum ac sollicitum te tenet, inquit Tigellus,
Quippe Benignus erat

Centra huc, ne proinde eger

Dicatur, metuens, inopi dare vel letandae, 5
Frigus quo duramque famem depellere possit

Hunc si percontaris, auctur alique parentis
Praeclaram ingrati stringat mulus inglutit rem,
Omnia conductis clementi obsonia nummis
"Sordidus, atque animi quod pars nolit haberi," 10
Respondet, laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis

Fufidius rappae famam timet ac nebulonis,

Heading] THE SECONDSAIRL OF THE FIRST BOOK]
OF HORACE. 1738 43.

[NOTÆ BENEFICIANÆ.] *Imitated* Why *Imitated*? Why not translated? *Od. Imitatores!* A Metaphrast had not turned *Tigellius*, and *Fufidius*, *Mulchius* and *Gargonius* (for I say *Mulchius*, not *Malthinus*, and *Gargonius*, not *Gorgonius*) into so many *LADIES*. *Benignus*, *hic*, *hunc*, &c. all of the Masculine Gender. Every School-boy knows more than our *Imitator*. [P. 1744]

a. *Lord Fanny's*, *Lady Mary's*] Lord Hervy and Lady M. Wortley Montagu. 7-10. A similar story is told by Mrs Maitrey (*Secret Memoirs from the New Atlantis*, 1709, p. 43; *The Adventures of Rivella*, 1714, p. 33), and by Thomas Lediard (*Life of John, Duke of Marlborough*, 1736, 129) of Lady Castlemaine and John Churchill, later Duke of Marlborough. Although Lady Castlemaine had given him thousands of pounds, he denied her "the common Civility of lending her Twenty Guineas at Basses." Anonymous annotators of copies of the poem in the Bodleian Library (Goth. sub. 248 and G. Paph. 71) supposed the "knight"

SOBER ADVICE

From *H O R A C E*

Imitated from his
SECOND SERMON

THE Tribe of Templars, Play'rs, Apothecaries,
Pimps, Poets, Wits, Lord *Fanny's*, Lady *Mary's*,
And all the Court in Tears, and half the Town,
Lament dear charming *Oldfield*, dead and gone!
Engaging *Oldfield*! who, with Grace and Ease, 5
Could joyn the Arts, to ruin, and to please.

Not so, who of Ten Thousand gull'd her Knight,
'Then ask'd Ten Thousand for a second Night:
The Gallant too, to whom she pay'd it down,
Liv'd to refuse that Mistress half a Crown. 10

Con. Philips cries, "A sneaking Dog I hate."
That's all three Lovers have for their Estate!
"Treat on, treat on," is her eternal Note,
And Lands and Tenements go down her Throat.
Some damn the Jade, and some the Cullies blame, 15
But not Sir *H—t*, for he does the same.

With all a Women's Virtues but the P—x,

4,5 *Oldfield*] O---f---ld 1734.

11 *Philips*] *Ph-l-ps* 1734.

to have been Sir Edward Hungerford (1632-1711), whose extravagance gained him the title of "The Spendthrift." This attribution is supported by G. S. Steinman (*Memoir of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland*, 1871, p. 141), who quotes from Boyer's *Hist. Life and Reign of Q. Anne*, "And here we shall draw a veil over the life this lady [Castlemaine] led from henceforward; for it would look too invidious to . . . relate in what manner she trick'd Sir Edward Hungerford of the sum of ten thousand Pounds." The truth of the story is contested by Winston Churchill, *Marlborough, His Life and Times*, 1933, i 61-6.

11. *Con. Philips*] see Biog. App., Teresia Constantia Phillips.

16. *Sir H—t*] Horace Walpole and the anonymous annotators of Bodleian copies agree in supposing this to be Sir Herbert Pakington. I have not discovered to what the passage alludes.

Dices agnis, dice fides non fore renumera
Quam is hic capiti mercedis ex eorumque
Quantus sit. Ille quod potest, fidei bene attulit, uti 15
Nepand credidit, non a tanta exite re.
Sub patribus dixit tu nam Mysteria, per nos,
Juppiter, ex laemat, sinu te propterea. Aliter
"Pro qua re tuum facit hic." Te ex ordine posui
Quam si tunc non ita nunc. Ita ut Patet illo, Terenti 20
Pubula quem miserum gnato esse se fugato
Inducat, non se sepe verumta erit atque hic.
Siquis nunc querat, Quo res hinc potuit. Illa
Dum vitant stulticia, in contraria currunt.
Machinus tuncis demissis ambulat. Est qui 25
Inguen ad obscenum subducti usque facetus;
Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gorgonius hircum.
Nil medium est, sunt qui nolint tibi vix, ni villas,

18. *Fugdu*] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

21. Lady Mary's sister had married the Earl of Mar, the Jacobite leader, in 1714. In 1730 she went mad owing, it was said, to her husband's maltreatment. She returned to England from their exile in Paris, and was sent to Scotland by her brother-in-law, Lord Grange. On the road she was seized by the Lord Chief Justice's warrant, procured by Lady Mary, and brought back to London, where the Lord Chancellor declared her lunatic and delivered her into Lady Mary's custody. Neither party was disinterested. Lord Grange seems to have feared that Lady Mar would divulge Jacobite secrets, Lady Mary was anxious to drive a good bargain. At first it was agreed that Lady Mary should receive £200 a year for Lady Mar's custody as the price of the Earl of Mar's pardon, but eventually Lord Grange was forced to agree to pay £500 on behalf of his brother, and receive certain concessions, excluding the pardon. At the same time Walpole told him he believed that Lady Mary would spend no more than £200 on her sister. Lord Grange visited Lady Mar in 1731 and, of course, considered her recovered, an opinion which he shared with Arbuthnot and Lady Hervey, but he found her easily discomposed, for Lady Mary "went in rage to her poor sister, and so swaged and frightened her, that she relapsed" (Lord Grange to Thomas Erskine, *Spalding Club Miscellany*, 1846, iii 17). These reports of Lady Mary's jobbery and tantrums may have reached Pope from Arbuthnot. They are certainly prejudiced and probably exaggerated, for Lady Mary's letters to Lady Mar show that she was fond of her sister. From what is known of Lord Grange's

Fufidia thrive in Money, Land, and Stocks;
 For Int'rest, ten *per cent.* her constant Rate is;
 Her Body? hopeful Heirs may have it *gratis*. 20
 She turns her very Sister to a Job,
 And in the Happy Minute, picks your Fob:
 Yet starves herself, so little her own Friend,
 And thirsts and hungers only at one End;
 A Self-Tormentor, worse than in the Play) 25
 The Wretch, whose Av'rice drove his Son away.

But why all this? I'll tell ye, 'tis my Theme:
 "Women and Fools are always in Extreme.
Rufa's at either end a Common-Shoar,
 Sweet *Moll* and *Jack* are Givet-Cat and Boar: 30
 Nothing in Nature is so lewd as *Peg*,
 Yet, for the World, she would not shew her Leg!

27 I'll tell ye] Beloved 1734.

treatment of his wife (Alexander Carlyle's *Autobiography*, Ch. 1), it is doubtful whether Lady Mai would have been any happier under his care. See also *Dia*. i 112.

23. *starves herself*] Compare Lady Mary's character as Avidien's wife (*Sat.* ii 52-60).

25. *Play*] See *My Terence*, *Heautontimorumenos*: "There is nothing in Dr. Hare's. BENT. [P. 1734] Hare (see Biog. App.) was an old friend of Bentley, and had received instruction from him in what was then an obscure subject, the metres of Terence, whose plays Bentley had intended to edit before he was deflected to more important work. Despairing of Bentley's edition, Hare set to work and published an edition in 1724. But by this time the two men had become estranged, and although Hare paid Bentley a handsome compliment in his preface, Bentley detected numerous disparaging reflections upon himself throughout the notes. He therefore reapplied himself to his edition and published it in 1726. "His censure of Hare, which unquestionably was the primary motive of the edition, is kept up in his notes from the first page to the last with unwearied severity." Monk's *Life of Bentley*, 1833, ii 217-35.

26. *Son*] For the escapades of Lady Mary's son, Edward Wortley Montagu, see Biog. App.

29. *Rufa*] She appears again in *Moral Es.* ii 21.

Common-Shoar] common sewer.

30. Lord and Lady Hervey.

*Quidnam ubi cuncti? de istis hec est
 Contra dūm huc, ubi sit, tenet hunc? 30*

*Quidam notus leuocum et tenebris Mute
 "Virtute te, in partem interis tractationem,
 "Nam simul ac venas interis et tenebris,
 "Huc putens ac pium est se tendere, non alienum
 "Permodere uxorem.*

*Nolim laudatier, inquit, 35
 Sic me, miratur CUNNI CUPIDINIS ALBI*
 Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte
 Qui moechos non colitis, ut omni parte laborent;
 Utque illis multo corrupta dolore voluptas,
 Atque haec rara, cadat dura inter saepe pericula 40
 Huc se praecipitem tecto dedit ille flagellis
 Ad mortem caesus: fugiens hic decidet aeternam
 Praedonum in turbam: dedit hic pro corpore nummos:
 Hunc perminxerunt calones; quin etiam illud*

* CUNNI CUPIDINIS ALBI, *Hoary Shrine*. Here the Imitator grievously errs, *Cunus albus* by no means signifying a *white* or *grey* Thing, but a Thing under a *white* or *grey* Garment, which thing may be either black, brown, red, or parti-coloured. BENT. [P. 1734].

34. *A Verse taken from Mr. Pope* [P. 1734] *Dunciad* (1728, ii. 141)

39. *L.—n* [i.e. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London. See Biog. App.]

40. *noted Dean*] Thomas Sawbridge, Dean of Ferns and Leighlin, who had been indicted for rape in 1790. See Biog. App.

44. *my Lord of—*] Others read *Lord-Mayor* [P. 1734]. The blank should be filled by *York*—alluding to Archbishop Blackburne, see Biog. App.

45. *J.—c*] For this story, see Biog. App., *Mary Hill*.

46. *Hi — sb — w*] *Mary Hill, Viscountess Hillsborough*. See Biog. App.

While bashful *Jenny*, ev'n at Morning-Prayer,
 Spreads her Fore-Buttocks to the Navel bare.
 But different Taste in different Men prevails, 35
 And one is fired by Heads, and one by Tails;
 Some feel no Flames but at the *Court* or *Ball*,
 And others hunt white Aprons in the *Mall*.

My Lord of *L—n*, chancing to remark
 A noted *Dean* much busy'd in the Park, 40
 "Proceed, he cry'd, proceed, my Reverend Brother,
 "'Tis *Fornicatio simplex*, and no other:
 "Better than lust for Boys, with *Pope* and *Turk*,
 "Or others Spouses, like my Lord of—

May no such Praise (cries *J—s*) e'er be mine! 45
J—s, who bows at *Hi—sb—w's* hoary Shrine.

All you, who think the *City* ne'er can thrive,
 'Till ev'ry Cluckold-maker's flea'd alive;
 Attend, while I their Miseries explain,
 And pity Men of Pleasure still in Pain! 50
 Survey the Pangs they bear, the Risques they run,
 Where the most lucky are but last undone.
 See wretched *Monsieur* flies to save his Throat,
 And quits his Mistress, Money, Ring, and Note!

39 *L—n*] *Lo—n* 1734.

53. *wretched Monsieur*] One, Rémond, who pestered Lady Mary with letters wherein gallantry was tempered by requests for financial advice. At her suggestion he bought South Sea stock and later sold it advantageously. Pleased with the success he brought her £900 and begged her to reinvest it. After some demur Lady Mary consented, and put the money back in South Sea stock just before the collapse. She retrieved £400 and sent him the news, to which he replied that he knew her tricks, was convinced that she had all his money untouched, and that he would print her letters unless she returned it. Eventually Rémond appears to have been satisfied, for his last letter renews his protestations of devotion. Pope had already referred to this in *Dunciad* A, ll 127, and he mentions it again in *Dia* i 112. See Lady Mary's *Letters*, i 33-7, 450-8, and Introduction, p. xvi.

Accidit, ut caudamque salacem* 45
Demeteri ferro. patet omnis. Gaudet in, ab it.

Exultat quondam miris: tunc de se voce anhelat
Libertinam dicit: Salva tu, in qua
Non minus insant, quam qui moechantur, ut hoc est.
Qua res, qua rutilo sauderet, puerque modeste 50
Munifico esse licet, vellet bonus atque benignus
Esse; daret quantum satis esset, nec sibi damno
Dedecorque foret. verum hoc se amplectitur uno,
Hoc amat & laudat: Matronam nullam ego tango.

Ut quondam Marsæus amator Originis, ille 55
Qui patrum mima donat fundumque laremque,
Nil fuerit mi, inquit, cum uxoribus umquam alienis.
Verum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus: unde
Fama malum gravius, quam res, trahit, an tibi abunde
Personam satis est, non illud, quicquid ubique 60
Officit, evitare? bonam perdere famam,
Rem patris oblimare, malum est ubi umque. quid inter

55 See . . . ragged] K . . . of his Footman's borrow'd 1734.

*—TESTIS CAUDAMQUE SALACEM *Demeteri ferro* (for so I say, and not *Demeteri ferrum*) *Bloods in Person*, Sully! was he let Blood by a Surgeon? how short is this of the Amputation of the *Testes* and *Gaudet salax?* What Ignorance also of Ancient Learning appears in his shallow Translation of *Permissum*, totally missing the Mark, and not entering into the deep Meaning of the Author. [P. 1734].

55. *Sir George*] Presumably Sir G. Oxenden, see Biog. App. The identity of K— has not been discovered.

60. *Budget*] A Gentleman as celebrated for his Gallantries as his Politics; an Entertaining History of which may be published, without the least Scandal on the Ladies. E. CURL. [P. 1734]. See Biog. App., Budget.

See good Sir *George* of ragged Livery stript,
By worthier Footmen pist upon and whipt!

55

Plunder'd by Thieves, or Lawyers which is worse,
One bleeds in Person, and one bleeds in Purse;
This meets a Blanket, and that meets a Cudgel—
And all applaud the Justice— All, but *Budgel*.

60

How much more safe, dear Countrymen! his State,
Who trades in Frigates of the second Rate?

And yet some Care of *S—t* should be had,
Nothing so mean for which he can't run mad;
His Wit confirms him but a Slave the more,

65

And makes a Princess whom he found a Whore.
The Youth might save much Trouble and Expence,
Were he a Dupe of only common Sense.

But here's his point; A Wench (he cries) for me!

"I never touch a Dame of Quality.

70

To *Palmer's* Bed no Actress comes amiss,

He courts the whole *Personæ Dramatis*:

He too can say, "With Wives I never sin."

But Singing-Girls and Mimicks draw him in.

Sure, worthy Sir, the Difference is not great,

75

With *whom* you lose your Credit and Estate?

This, or that Person, what avails to shun?

What's wrong is wrong, wherever it be done:

60 *Budgel*] *B—l* 1734. 71 *Palmer's*] *P—l—r's* 1734.

63. *S—t*] H. Walpole and the annotator of Bodley Godw. subt. 248 are almost certainly correct in supposing that Bolingbroke is intended. When writing of this satire to Swift on June 27, 1734, he says "the rogue has fixed a ridicule upon me, which some events of my life would seem, perhaps, to justify him in doing," and no other passage suits him. Why Pope should call Bolingbroke *Sallust*, except that Bolingbroke was interested in the writing of history, and why he should suppress a harmless name, which is printed in full on the opposite page, have not yet been explained.

71. *Palmer*] A contemporary annotator of Bodley Godw. Pamph. 71 supposes him to be Sir Thomas Palmer. He died in 1723, but this is not an insuperable objection (see 1740, 584 and Biog. App.).

Et cuncta hinc motu celeris, et cetera

Et cuncta hinc motu celeris, et cetera
Ammi et cetera hinc et cetera 65
Quam et cetera hinc et cetera
Ex hinc et cetera hinc et cetera

Hinc et cetera hinc et cetera
Ducet hinc ammu. Quam et cetera hinc et cetera
Magno prognatum depro et cetera 70
Velutumque atola, me et cetera
Quam responderet. Magno et cetera

At quanto meliora monet, pugnantiaque istis
Dives opis natura suae' tu si mulo recte
Dispensare velis, ac non fugienda petendis 75
Inmiscere.

—Tuo rito, rerumne labores,
Nil referre putas' quare, ne poeniteat te,
Desine matronas seclatier: unde laboris
Plus haurire mali est, quam ex re decerpere fructus

* Magno prognatum depro et cetera

A Thing descended from the Conqueror.

A Thing descended—why Thing? the Poet has it Cunnum, which, therefore, boldly place here. BENT [P. 1794].

86. "Jacob Hall, the famous rope-dancer, was fashionable in London at that time [c. 1668]. His nimbleness and his strength greatly delighted his audience in public; so much so, that a desire arose to see what he was in private. . . This acrobat by no means disappointed conjectures which had been ventured on this subject by Lady Castlemaine—at least if the conjectures of the general public

The Ease, Support, and Lustre of your Life,
Destroy'd alike with Strumpet, Maid, or Wife. 80

What push'd poor *Ellis* on th' Imperial Whore?
'Twas but to be where CHARLES had been before.
The fatal Steel unjustly was apply'd,
When not his Lust offended, but his Pride:
Too hard a Penance for defeated Sin, 85
Himself shut out, and *Jacob Hall* let in.

Suppose that honest Part that rules us all,
Should rise, and say "Sir *Robert!* or Sir *Paul!*
"Did I demand, in my most vig'rous hour,
"A Thing descended from the Conqueror? 90
"Or when my pulse beat highest, ask for any
"Such Nicety, as Lady or Lord *Fanny?*—

What would you answer? Could you have the Face, }
When the poor Suff'rer humbly mourn'd his Case, }
To cry "You weep the Favours of her GRACE? } 95

Hath not indulgent Nature spread a Feast,
And giv'n enough for Man, enough for Beast?
But Man corrupt, perverse in all his ways,
In search of Vanities from Nature strays:
Yea, tho' the Blessing's more than he can use, 100
Shuns the permitted, the forbid pursues!
Weigh well the Cause from whence these Evils spring,
'Tis in thyself, and not in God's good Thing:
Then, lest Repentence punish such a Life,

81 *Ellis*] *E*—s 1734.

were to be believed, and the burden of innumerable street-ballads which did the dancer more honour than the Countess." *Memoirs of the Comte de Gramont*, trs. P. Quennell, 1930, p. 112.

88. Presumably Sir Paul Methuen. See Biog. App.

95. Spoken not of one particular Dutchess, but of divers Dutchesses [P. 1734].

96. The original Manuscript has it,

—*Spread a Feast*

Of—enough for Man, enough for Beast:

but we prefer the present, as the purer Diction [P. 1734].

Never, ah, never! kiss thy Neighbour's Wife. 105

First, Silks and Diamonds veil no finer Shape,
Or plumper Thigh, than lurk in humble Crape:
And *secondly*, how innocent a *Belle*
Is she who shows what Ware she has to sell;
Not Lady-like, displays a milk-white Breast, 110
And hides in sacred Sluttishness the rest.

Our ancient Kings (and sure those Kings were wise,
Who judg'd themselves, and saw with their own Eyes)
A War-horse never for the Service chose,
But ey'd him round, and stript off all the Cloaths; 115
For well they knew, proud Trappings serve to hide
A heavy Chest, thick Neck, or heaving Side.
But Fools are ready Chaps, agog to buy,
Let but a comely Fore-hand strike the Eye:
No Eagle sharper, every Charm to find, 120
To all defects, *Ty—y* not so blind:
Goose-rump'd, Hawk-nos'd, Swan-footed, is my Dear?
They'l praise her *Elbow, Heel, or Tip o'th' Ear*.

A Lady's Face is all you see undress'd;
(For none but Lady M— shows the Rest) 125
But if to Charms more latent you pretend,
What Lines encompass, and what Works defend!
Dangers on Dangers! obstacles by dozens!
Spies, Guardians, Guests, old Women, Aunts, and
Cozens!

125 shows] show'd 1734.

Bodleian Library (M.3 19 Art). Lord Mohun (1677–1712), the famous rake, married twice; (1) Charlotte Manwaring, d. 1705, (2) Elizabeth Griffith, d. 1725. From what is known of their exploits, this story might well be true of either. The change to *shows* in 1738 suggests that Pope was once more thinking of Lady Mary.

129. *Cozens*] There is a famous Stay-maker of this name, which stiffens the *double entendre* here meant [Curll, 1757].

*Altera nile est, ut Cerinthus, cerentia
 Et tunc tam succum, non est cerentia
 Metaphorice, ut Cerentia
 In utroque f. Cerentia, ut Cerentia
 Quam Cerentia, ut Cerentia*

ILLUMINATIO. 107

*In me est electus, fortis, salutaris, et
 Cantat, et adfuit, et est amicus, et est
 Transiit in medio, et est fortis, et est
 Hinc, et est, et est, et est, et est, et est
 Atque aestus, et est, et est, et est, et est
 Nonne, et est, et est, et est, et est, et est
 Quid latum, et est, et est, et est, et est
 Quarete plu. prodest, et est, et est, et est
 Num, tibi cum, et est, et est, et est, et est
 Pocula? num, et est, et est, et est, et est
 * Pavonem, et est, et est, et est, et est
 Ancilla aut verna est, et est, et est, et est
 Continuo fiat, et est, et est, et est, et est
 Non ego, namque, et est, et est, et est, et est*

*ILLAM, Post paullo, Sed plura, Si exierit, et, 120
 Gallis: Hani, Philodemus aut sibi, quae neque magno
 Stet prelo; nec cunctetur, cum est iussa venire.*

* PAVONEM, Pea-Chicks] *Not ill-render'd, meaning a young or soft Peccr. Anglice a Tid-bit. such as that Delicate Youth Cerinthus, whose Flesh, our Horace expressly says, was as tender as a Lady's, and our Imitator turn'd*

Such Nicety, as Lady or Lord F—

not omits truly; it agrees with My own Reading of tuo semore, instead of tuum semur, and savours of the true Taste of Antiquity BENT. [P. 1734].

Could you directly to her Person go,
 Stays will obstruct above, and Hoops below, } 130
 And if the Dame says ye, the Dress says no.
 Not thus at *N—d—m's*, your judicious Eye
 May measure there the Breast, the Hip, the Thigh!
 And will you run to Penk, Sword, and Law, 135
 All for a Thing you ne'er so much as *sau*?

"The Hate once seiz'd the Hunter heeds no more
 "The little Sent he so pursu'd before,
 "Love follows flying Game—as *Sucklyn* sings)
 "And 'tis for that the wanton Boy has Wings." 140
 Why let him Sing—but when you're in the Wrong,
 Think ye to cure the Mischief with a Song?
 Has Nature set no bounds to wild Desire?
 No Sense to guide, no Reason to enquire,
 What solid Happiness, what empty Pride? 145
 And what is best indulg'd, or best deny'd?
 If neither Gems adorn, nor Silver tip
 The flowing Bowl, will you not wet your Lip?
 When sharp with Hunger, scorn you to be fed,
 Except on *Pea-Chicks*, at the *Bedford-head*? 150
 Or, when a tight, neat Girl, will serve the Turn,
 In errant Pride continue stiff, and burn?
 I'm a plain Man, whose Maxim is profest,
 "The Thing at hand is of all Things the *best*.
 But Her who will, and then will not comply, 155
 Whose Word is *If*, *Perhaps*, and *By-and-By*,
 Z—ds! let some Eunuch or Platonic take—

142 ye] you 1734.

133. *N—d—m*] Mother Needham (see Biog. App.) kept a notorious brothel in Park Place, St James's.

138. *Sau*] a hare's tail.

139. Nothing closely resembling these lines has been discovered in Suckling.

150. *Bedford-head*] See *Sat.* ii. 424.

Can h la rectaque sit; mun la hactenus, ut ne pue longa,
Nec mare ultra est, quam let natura, et sen.
Hæc, ubi suppositæ lectro confus mela luerunt, 125
Illa & pueria est: da nomen quo libet et illi.
Nec tereor, ne, dum fumos, et rure recurrit,
Janua frangatur; latet carn; ut i pu mæno
Pulsa domus strepitum resinet, ne pallida lecta
Desiliat mulier; miseram se conviciis clumet, 130
Cruribus hæc metuat, doti hæc deprensa, egamet mi.
Discincta tunica fugiendum est, ac pede nudo;
Ne nummi fereant, aut fuga, aut denique fama.
Deprendi miserum est: Fabio vel quæ hæc circum.

138. B--f] Bathurst.

175. Here the Imitator errs. The *Latin* has it *dum fumos*, a most necessary Circumstance! which ought to be *restored*; and may, by the change of a single Word, be the same with that of the Author, and one which wou'd marvelously agree with the Ladies in the second Line. B&N. [P. 1734].

176. See Biog. App., Mary Hill.

178. L—f] Richard Liddell, against whom his friend, Lord Abergavenny,

So *B—t* cries, Philosopher and Rake!
 Who asks no more (right reasonable Peer)
 Than not to wait too long, nor pay too dear. 160
 Give me a willing Nymph! 'tis all I care,
 Extremely clean, and tolerably fair,
 Her Shape her own, whatever Shape she have,
 And just that White and Red which Nature gave.
 Her I transported touch, transported view, 165
 And call her *Angel! Goddess! Montague!*
 No furious Husband thunders at the Door;
 No barking Dog, no Household in a Roar;
 From gleaming Swords no shrieking Women run;
 No wretched Wife cries out, *Undone! Undone!* 170
 Seiz'd in the Fact, and in her Cuckold's Pow'r,
 She kneels, she weeps, and worse! resigns her Dow'r.
 Me, naked me, to Posts, to Pumps they draw,
 To Shame eternal, or eternal Law.
 Oh Love! be deep Tranquility my Luck! 175
 No Mistress *H—ysh—m* near, no Lady *B—ck!*
 For, to be taken, is the Dev'll in Hell;
 This Truth, let *L—l, J—ys, O—w* tell.

FINIS

166 *Montague*] *M—ue* 1734.

brought an action for criminal conversation with the Lady Abergavenny, who had died of grief and shame for the discovery in December 1729. The case was heard on Feb. 16, 1729–30, and the plaintiff awarded £10,000 damages (A. Boyer's *Polit. State of Gl. Britain*, xxxix 217–220). See further Biog. App. *J—ys*] see Biog. App., Mary Hill.

O—w] History has dealt kindly with the reputation of the Onslows. Endeavours to discover what underlay this reference have failed.

THE
SECOND SATIRE
OF
Dr. *JOHN DONNE*,
Dean of St. PAUL's,
VERIFIED.

*Quid vetat, ut nosmet Lucili scripta legentes
Quærere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
Versiculos natura magis factos, & euntes
Mollius?*

HOR [Sat I x 56-9].

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The original version of *The Second Satire of Dr. John Donne* was written about the year 1713 and is now printed for the first time (see Introduction, p. xlii). The revised version was first published in the second volume of the collected works in folio, 1735. A few ✓ revisions were made for each of the two octavo editions of the *Works*, 1735, and for the octavo *Works* of 1739 and 1740. The present text accepts the final revision of 1740, but in punctuation and typography follows the first edition, from which the text of Donne's poem is also taken.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

- 1735^a = Works, vol. ii, folio, Griffith 370.
1735^b = Works, vol. ii, quarto, Griffith 372.
1735^c = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 388.
1735^d = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 389.
1739 = Works, vol. ii, octavo, Griffith 505.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.

THE SECOND SATIRE OF Dr. JOHN DONNE.

*S*IR, though (I thank God for it) I do hate
 Perfectly all this Town, yet there's one state
 In all ill things so excellently best,
 That hate towards them, breeds pity towards the rest.
 Though Poetry, indeed, be such a sin, 5
 As, I think, that brings dearth, and Spaniards in:
 Though like the Pestilence, and old fashion'd love,
 Ridlingly it catch men, and doth remove
 Never, till it be starv'd out, yet their state
 Is poor, disarm'd, like Papists, not worth hate, 10
 One, (like a wretch, which at Barre judg'd as dead,
 Yet prompts him which stands next, and cannot read,
 And saves his life) gives Idiot Actors means,
 (Starving himself) to live by his labour'd scenes.
 As in some Organs, Puppets dance above 15
 And bellows pant below, which them do move.

The SECOND SATIRE of Dr. DONNE TRANSLATED by Mr. POPE.

*T*HO' Heav'n be praised, that ever since I knew
 This Town, I had the Sense to hate it too;
 There's yet in this, as in all Evils stul,
 One supreme State, so excellently ill,
 That perfect hate to that, now makes me more 5
 Pity the rest, than I abhorrd before
 Ev'n Poetry, tho tis indeed a Sin
 Heinous enough to bring a Famine in;
 A Plague, whose strange Infection men are sure,
 To catch and then to starve by way of Cure: 10
 Yet poor, disarm'd and helpless is their State
 Like that of Papists, now not worth their Hate
 One the most meagre of the hungry Train
 Seeks from the Stage his vile Support to gain:
 And as a Wretch, condemn'd, and judg'd as dead 15
 May prompt and save His Life who cannot read:

THE SECOND SATIRE OF Dr. JOHN DONNE.

YEs; thank my stars! as early as I knew
This Town, I had the sense to hate it too:
Yet here, as ev'n in Hell, there must be still
One Giant-Vice, so excellently ill,
That all beside one pities, not abhors; 5
As who knows Sapho, smiles at other whores.

I grant that Poetry's a crying sin;
It brought (no doubt) th' *Excuse* and *Army* in:
Catch'd like the plague, or love, the Lord knows how,
But that the cure is starving, all allow. 10
Yet like the Papists is the Poets state,
Poor and disarm'd, and hardly worth your hate.

Here a lean Bard, whose wit could never give
Himself a dinner, makes an Actor live:
The Thief condemn'd, in law already dead, 15
So prompts, and saves a Rogue who cannot read.
Thus as the pipes of some carv'd Organ move,
The gilded Puppets dance and mount above,
Heav'd by the breath th' inspiring Bellows blow;
Th' inspiring Bellows lie and pant below. 20

One sings the Fair; but Songs no longer move,
No Rat is rhym'd to death, nor Maid to love:
In Love's, in Nature's spite, the siege they hold,
And scorn the Flesh, the Dev'l, and all but Gold.

These write to Lords, some mean reward to get, 25
As needy Beggars sing at doors for meat.
Those write because all write, and so have still
Excuse for writing, and for writing ill.

5 beside] beneath 1735ab. 6 Sapho] Sa** 1735a-d.
16 a] some 1735ab.

8, th' *Excuse* and *Army*] See *Sat.* ii 1 73n and *Sat.* ii 1 134n.

12. *Poor and disarm'd*] Cf. *Sat.* ii 1 151-4, and *Ep.* ii 1 67.

[DONNE]

*One would move Love by rythmes; but witchcrafts charms
 Bring not now their old fears, nor their old harms.
 Rams, and slings now are silly battery,
 Pistolets are the best Artillery. 20
 And they who write to Lords, rewards to get,
 Are they not like singers at doors for meat?
 And they who write, because all write, have still
 That 'scuse for writing, and for writing ill.
 But he is worst, who (beggerly) doth chaw 25
 Others wits fruits, and in his ravenous maw
 Rankly digested, doth those things out-spue,
 As his own things; and they're his own, 'tis true,
 For if one eat my meat, though it be known,
 The meat was mine, th' excrement's his own. 30
 But these do me no harm, nor they which use,
 To out-doe Dildoes, and out-usure Jews,
 T' out-drink the sea, to out-swear the Letanie,
 Who with sins all kinds as familiar be
 As Confessors, and for whose sinful sake 35
 Schoolmen new tenements in hell must make:
 Whose strange sins Canonists could hardly tell
 In which Commandments large recett they dwell.*

[POPE I]

So the learnd Bard that starves with all his Sence
 Makes Idiot Actors live at his Expence
 In Organs thus the mounting Puppets move
 On the high Frame, and dance in Air above, 20
 Heav'd by the Breath th' inspiring Bellows blow;
 Th' inspiring Bellows lie and pant below.

One wou'd move Love, by Rhymes; but Verses charms
 Like those of Witchcraft now can work no harms:
 The Fair are furnish'd of Defensive Arms: 25
 Against the Witty, Gallant, Brave and Bold,
 In Nature's spight, the Stubborn Siege they hold
 And scorns all Arms, all Battery—but Gold

Some write to Lords in hope reward to get,
 As needy Beggars sing at Doors for Meat 30
 Some write, because all write; and thus have stil
 Excuse for writing and for writing ill.
 Vile tho' they be, by far the vilest yet
 Is He who makes his Meals of Others Wit;
 Tis chang'd indeed from what it was before 35
 His rank Digestion makes it Wit no more.
 What tho he swears tis all his own, and new;
 He swears but Truth, to give the Divil his due:

Wretched indeed! but far more wretched yet
Is he who makes his meal on others wit: 30
'Tis chang'd no doubt from what it was before,
His rank digestion makes it wit no more:
Sense, past thro' him, no longer is the same,
For food digested takes another name.

I pass o'er all those Confessors and Martyrs 35
Who live like S—tt—n, or who die like Chartres,
Out-cant old Esdras, or out-drink his Heir,
Out-usure Jews, or Irishmen out-swear;
Wicked as Pages, who in early years
Act Sins which Prisca's Confessor scarce hears: 40
Ev'n those I pardon, for whose sinful sake
Schoolmen new tenements in Hell must make;
Of whose strange crimes no Canonist can tell
In what Commandment's large contents they dwell.

31 'Tis chang'd no doubt] 'Tis chang'd indeed 1735a-c, 1739; 'Tis true 'tis chang'd 1735d.

36. S—tt—n] Horace Walpole is probably correct in stating that Pope had General Richard Sutton in mind, and not his more famous namesake, Sir Robert. Satirical references to Sir Robert had been expunged at Warburton's request. See *Biog. App.* and *Dia.* i 16n.

40. *Prisca*] i.e. a sinner of a bygone generation.

- [DONNE] *But these punish themselves. The insolence
Of Coscus, only, breeds my just offence,* 40
*Whom time, (which rots all, and makes botches pox,
And plodding on, must make a calf an ox)
Hath made a Lawyer; which (alas) of late;
But scarce a Poet: jollier of this state,
Then are new benefic'd Ministers, he throws* 45
*Like nets, or lime-twigs, wheresoe'er he goes
His tile of Barrister on every wench,
And wooes in language of the Pleas and Bench.
A motion, Lady: Speak Coscus. I have been
In love ever since tricesimo of the Queen* 50
*Continual claims I've made, Injunctions got
To stay my rival's suit, that he should not
Proceed; spare me: in Hullyary term I went,
You said, if I return'd next sise in Lent,
I should be in Remitter of your grace;* 55
*In th' interim my letters should take place
Of Affidavits. words, words, which would tear
The tender labyrinth of a Maids soft ear;
More, more then ten Slavonians scolding, more
Than when winds in our ruin'd Abbyes roar.* 60
-
- [POPE I] *For tho' the meat whereon he fed, be known
To have been mine, the Excrement's his own* 40
*Well let Them pass and so may those that use
T' out doe Italians, and out usure Jews;
Out drink the Sea and that bold Wretch outswear,
That acts more Crimes than Confessors e'er hear.*
Ev'n those I pardon, For whose sinful Sake 45
*Schoolmen new Tenements in Hell must make;
And whose strange Sins no Canonist can tell.
In which Commandments large Receipt they dwell.
All these their Hell in their own Bosom find,
And all its Furies in a guilty Mind.* 50
*Tis Coscus only breeds my just Offence,
Coscus renown'd for matchless Insolence;
Whom ripening Time, that Turns a Clap to Pox
That plodding on must make a Calf an Ox
And brings all Natural Events to pass:* 55
*Has made of late a Lawyer of an Asse.
Not Young Divines, new-benefic'd can be
More pert, more proud, more positive than he.
Vain of this State, what does my Coxcomb do
But turns a Wit, and writes Love Verses too?* 60

One, one man only breeds my just offence; 45
Whom Crimes gave wealth, and wealth gave impudence:
Time, that at last matures a Clap to Pox,
Whose gentle progress makes a Calf an Ox,
And brings all natural events to pass,
Hath made him an Attorney of an Ass. 50
No young Divine, new-benefic'd, can be
More pert, more proud, more positive than he.
What further could I wish the Fop to do,
But turn a Wit, and scribble verses too?
Pierce the soft lab'rinth of a Lady's ear 55
With rhymes of this *per Cent.* and that *per Year*?
Or court a Wife, spread out his wily parts,
Like nets or lime-twigs, for rich Widows hearts?

57 Or court] To court 1735a-d, 1739. spread out] and spread
1735a-d; or spread 1739.

[DONNE]	<i>When sick with Poetry, and posset with Muse</i>	
	<i>Thou wast, and mad I hop'd; but men which chuse</i>	
	<i>Law practice for meer gain; bold soul repute</i>	
	<i>Worse than unbrothel'd strumpets prostitute.</i>	
	<i>Now like an owl-like watchman he must walk</i>	65
	<i>His hand still at a bill, now he must talk</i>	
	<i>Idly, like prisoners, which whole months will swear</i>	
	<i>That only suretyship hath brought them there,</i>	
	<i>And to every suitor lye in every thing,</i>	
	<i>Like a Kings Favorite—or like a King.</i>	70
	<i>Like a wedge in a block, wring to the barre,</i>	
	<i>Bearing like Asses, and more shameless farre</i>	
	<i>Than carted whores, lye to the grave Judge; for</i>	
	<i>Bastardy abounds not in King's tiles, nor</i>	
	<i>Simony and Sodomy in Church-men's lives,</i>	75
	<i>As these things do in him; by these he thrives.</i>	
	<i>Shortly (as th' sea) he'll compass all the land,</i>	
	<i>From Scots to Wight, from Mount to Dover strand,</i>	
	<i>And spying heirs melting with luxury,</i>	
	<i>Satan will not joy at their sins, as he;</i>	80
	<i>For (as a thrifty wench scrapes kitching-stuffe,</i>	
	<i>And barrelling the droppings, and the snuffe</i>	

[POPE I]	Displays his Titles, lays forth all his Parts,	
	Like Nets or Linnetwiggs for the Ladies Hearts,	
	Calls himself Barrister to ev'ry Wench,	
	And woes in Language of the Pleas and Bench	
	Language so harsh, 'tis sure enough to tear	65
	The tender Labyrinth of a Virgins Ear:	
	Not Winds that round our ruin'd Abbeyes roar,	
	Nor ten Slavonians, scolding, deaf me more	
	How'ere some pleasure 'tis, this Fool to see	}
	Posset with Muse, and sick with Poetry;	
	Madness, I hope is in the next Degre	
	But Curst be he, who basely sells a Cause,	
	And Trafficks in the prostituted Laws:	
	More hireling and more mercenary far,	
	Than ev'n in Brothels venal Strumpets are.	75
	To sigh each Bill, about he now must walk;	
	Now with set-looks to his bilk'd client talk:	
	To no more purpose, than when pris'ners swear	
	That only suertyship has brought them there:	
	To ev'ry Suitor lie in ev'ry thing,	80
	Like a King's Favourite—or like a King:	
	Drudge like an Ass, and labour at the Laws:	

Call himself Barrister to ev'ry wench,
And wooe in language of the Pleas and Bench? 60
Language, which Boreas might to Auster hold,
More rough than forty Germans when they scold.
Curs'd be the Wretch! so venal and so vain;
Paltry and proud, as drabs in Drury-lane.
'Tis such a bounty as was never known, 65
If Peter deigns to help you to your *own*:
What thanks, what praise, if Peter but supplies!
And what a solemn face if he denies!
Grave, as when Pris'ners shake the head, and swear
'Twas only Suretyship that brought 'em there. 70
His *Office* keeps your Parchment-Fates entire,
He starves with cold to save them from the Fire;
For you, he walks the streets thro' rain or dust,
For not in Chariots Peter puts his trust;
For you he sweats and labours at the Laws, 75

66, 67, 74 Peter] Coscus 1735*ab*.

64. *Drury-lane*] See *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 41*n*.

66. *Peter*] Peter Walter, once more.

70. *Suretyship*] responsibility taken by one person on behalf of another, as for payment of a debt [OED].

Takes God to witness he affects your Cause,
And lyes to every Lord in every thing,
Like a King's Favourite—or like a King.

These are the talents that adorn them all,
From wicked Waters ev'n to godly — 80

Not more of Simony beneath black Gowns,
Nor more of Bastardy in heirs to Crowns.
In shillings and in pence at first they deal,
And steal so little, few perceive they steal;
Till like the Sea, they compass all the land, 85
From Scots to Wight, from Mount to Dover strand.

And when rank Widows purchase luscious nights,
Or when a Duke to Jansen punts at White's,
Or City heir in mortgage melts away,
Satan himself feels far less joy than they. 90

Piecemeal they win this Acre first, then that,
Glean on, and gather up the whole Estate:
Then strongly fencing ill-got wealth by law,
Indentures, Cov'nants, Articles they draw;
Large as the Fields themselves, and larger far 95
Than Civil Codes, with all their glosses, are:

So vast, our new Divines, we must confess,
Are Fathers of the Church for writing less.
But let them write for You, each Rogue impairs
The Deeds, and dextrously omits, *ses Heires*: 100
No Commentator can more slily pass

80 Waters] W**rs 1735ab.

87 And] Oh! 1735ab.

88 Jansen] J**n 1735ab.

80. *Waters*] i.e. Peter Walter. See *Sat.* II i 89.

godly—] Paul Foley, according to Lord Orrery [EC]. Macaulay describes him as a lawyer of "spotless integrity and munificent charity" (*History*, Ch. xx). But can Pope have had in mind a man who died so far back as 1699?

88. *a Duke*] Wriothlesley Russell, third Duke of Bedford (1708–1732). On Nov. 27, 1731, he lost £3,800 to Janssen after playing for twenty-five hours running (Egmont, i 207). The incident caused some stir and made the Duke "a

- [DONNE] *Where the old Landlords Troops, and Almes? In Halls* 105
 Carthusian Fasts, and fulsome Bacchanals
 Equally I hate. Mean's blest. In rich men's homes
 I bid kill some beasts, but no Hecatombs,
 None starve, none surfeit so. But (oh) we allow
 Good works, as good, but out of fashion now, 110
 Like old rich Wardrobes But my words none draws
 Within the vast reach of th' huge Statutes jaws.

- [POPE I] O'er a learn'd, un-intelligible Place; 105
 Nor disputant, in vouching Texts, leave out
 Shrewd words, which woud against him clear the doubt
 But when he purchases, it were not fit
 He the least point shoud shorten or omit
 Who neither writes nor pays for what is writ } 110
 So *Luther* thought the *Pater noster* long,
 When doom'd to say his Beads and Ev'ning Song:
 But having cast his Hood and left those Laws,
 Adds to Christs Prayer the *Power* and *Glory Clause*.
 The Lands are bought but where are to be found 115
 Those ancient Woods that shaded all the Ground?
 And yet no new built Palaces aspire,
 Nor Kitchen shine with more than usal Fire
 Where are those Troops of Poor that throng'd before
 The good old Landlords hospitable Door? 120
 Well, I cou'd wish that still in Richmens Homes
 Some Beasts were kill'd, tho' not whole Hecatombs:
 That both Extreame were banisht from their Halls,
 Carthusian Fasts, and fulsom Bacchanals:
 And all mankind wou'd that blest Mean observe 125
 In which none 'ere cou'd surfeit, none could starve,

O'er a learn'd, unintelligible place;
Or, in Quotation, shrewd Divines leave out
Those words, that would against them clear the doubt. 105

So Luther thought the Paternoster long,
When doom'd to say his Beads and Evensong:
But having cast his Cowle, and left those laws,
Adds to Christ's prayer, the *Pow'r and Glory* clause.

The Lands are bought; but where are to be found
Those ancient Woods, that shaded all the ground? 110
We see no new-built Palaces aspire,

No Kitchens emulate the Vestal Fire.
Where are those Troops of poor, that throng'd of yore
The good old Landlord's hospitable door? 115
Well, I could wish, that still in lordly domes

Some beasts were kill'd, tho' not whole hecatombs,
That both Extremes were banish'd from their walls,
Carthusian Fasts, and fulsome Bacchanals;
And all mankind might that just mean observe,
In which none e'er could surfeit, none could starve. 120

by-word in the walks of fashion for his depth of play, and the graceful *non-chalance* with which he gave new wings to his wealth" (J. H. Wiffen, *Memorials of the House of Russell*, 1833, ii 332). Twenty-four years later Horace Walpole was still using this record as a standard of loss, see his letter to Bentley, Feb. 23, 1755.

White's] A chocolate-house established in St. James's Street about the year 1698, and converted into a private club in 1736. White's was notorious as a gaming-house: the extravagance of the betting may be illustrated by a couplet from Bramston's *Man of Taste* (1733):

Had I whole Counties, I to *White's* would go
And set lands, woods, and rivers at a throw.

See further *Moral Es.* iii 67, *Dunciad*, B i 203, and J. Timbs, *Club Life of London* (1866) i 108-21.

108. *Pow'r and Glory clause*] Grierson states that the "power and glory clause" which is not found in the Vulgate, was taken by Erasmus (1516) from all the Greek codices, though Erasmus did not regard it as genuine. "Thence it passed into Luther's (1521) and most Reformed versions. In his popular and devotional *Auslegung deutsch des Vaterunsers* (1519) Luther makes no reference to it."

These, as good works 'tis true we all allow;
But oh! these works are not in fashion now:
Like rich old Wardrobes, things extremely rare,
Extremely fine, but what no man will wear.

Thus much I've said, I trust without offence; 125
Let no Court-Sycophant pervert my sense,
Nor sly Informer watch these words to draw
Within the reach of Treason, or the Law.

121. *good works*] a satirical reference, perhaps, to the twelfth of the thirty-nine Articles of the English Church, which allows that good works are "pleasing and acceptable to God."

THE
FIRST ODE
OF THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF
HORACE.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

Horace His Ode to Venus, Lib. iv Ode 1 was first published as a 10-page folio in 1737. It was included, with the revised title and one trivial revision in the text, in a volume of the octavo edition of the collected works in 1738, but not in the editions of 1740 and 1743. The present text is taken from the first edition.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

- 1737 = First edition, Griffith 443.
1738 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. vi, Griffith 648.

Q. HORATII FLACCI ODARUM LIB. IV. ODE. I.

AD VENEREM.

I NTER *missa Venus diu*
Rursus bella moves? parce precor, precor!
Non sum qualis eram, bonæ
Sub regno Cynaræ: Desine, dulcium
Mater sæva Cupidinum, 5
Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
Jam durum imperiis: abi
Quo blandæ juvenum te revocant preces.
Tempestivus in domo
Paulli, purpureis ales oloribus, 10
Comessabere Maximi,
Si torrere jecur quæris idoneum.
Namque et nobilis & decens,
Et pro sollicitis non tacitus reis,
Et centum puer artium, 15
Latè signa feret militiæ tuæ.
Et quandoque potentior
Largis muneribus riserit æmuli,
Albanos prope te lacus
Ponet marmoream, sub trabe citrea. 20

Illic plurima naribus
Duces thura; lyraeque & Bercynthia
Delectabere tibiæ

4. Cinara was the name of one of Horace's mistresses.
 6. *sober, fifty*] Pope was born in 1688.

THE FIRST ODE OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF HORACE: TO VENUS.

A GAIN? new Tumults in my Breast?
 Ah spare me, Venus! let me, let me rest!
 I am not now, alas! the man
 As in the gentle Reign of My Queen *Anne*.
 Ah sound no more thy soft alarms, 5
 Nor circle sober fifty with thy Charms.
 Mother too fierce of dear Desires!
 Turn, turn to willing Hearts your wanton fires.
 To *Number five* direct your Doves,
 There spread round MURRAY all your blooming Loves; 10
 Noble and young, who strikes the heart
 With every sprightly, every decent part;
 Equal, the injur'd to defend,
 To charm the Mistress, or to fix the Friend.
 He, with a hundred Arts refin'd, 15
 Shall stretch thy Conquests over half the kind:
 To him each Rival shall submit,
 Make but his riches equal to his Wit.
 Then shall thy Form the Marble grace,
 (Thy Græcian Form) and Chloe lend the Face: 20
 His House, embosom'd in the Grove,
 Sacred to social Life and social Love,
 Shall glitter o'er the pendent green,
 Where Thames reflects the visionary Scene.
 Thither, the silver-sounding Lyres 25
 Shall call the smiling Loves, and young Desires;
 There, every Grace and Muse shall throng,

5 thy] the 1737. 10 MURRAY] M**y 1737, 1738.

9. *Number five*] Murray's lodgings in King's Bench Walk.

<i>Mistis carminibus, non sine fistulâ.</i>	
<i>Illic bis pueri die</i>	25
<i>Numen cum teneris virginibus tuum</i>	
<i>Laudantes, pede candido</i>	
<i>In morem Salium ter quatient humum.</i>	
<i>Me nec femina, nec puer</i>	
<i>Jam, nec spes animi credula mutui,</i>	30
<i>Nec certare juvat mero:</i>	
<i>Nec vincere novis tempora floribus.</i>	
<i>— Sed cur, heu! Ligurine, cur</i>	
<i>Manat rara meas lacryma per genas?</i>	
<i>Cur facunda parum decoro</i>	35
<i>Inter verba cadit lingua silentio?</i>	
<i>Nocturnis te ego somniis</i>	
<i>Jam captum teneo: jam volucrem sequor</i>	
<i>Te, per gramina Martii</i>	
<i>Campi, te per aquas, dure, volubiles.</i>	40

Exalt the Dance, or animate the Song;
There, Youths and Nymphs, in consort gay,
Shall hail the rising, close the parting day. 30
With me, alas! those joys are o'er;
For me, the vernal Garlands bloom no more.
Adieu! fond hope of mutual fire,
The still-believing, still-renew'd desire;
Adieu! the heart-expanding bowl, 35
And all the kind Deceivers of the soul!
— But why? ah tell me, ah too dear!
Steals down my cheek th'involuntary Tear?
Why words so flowing, thoughts so free,
Stop, or turn nonsense at one glance of Thee? 40
Thee, drest in Fancy's airy beam,
Absent I follow thro' th'extended Dream,
Now, now I seize, I clasp thy charms,
And now you burst, (ah cruel!) from my arms,
And swiftly shoot along the Mall, 45
Or softly glide by the Canal,
Now shown by Cynthia's silver Ray,
And now, on rolling Waters snatch'd away.

PART OF THE
NINTH ODE
OF THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF
HORACE.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

This imitation was first published by Warburton in *Works*, 1751, vol. vi. Pope's autograph manuscript is now in the British Museum,¹ attached to the last flyleaves of Thomson's *Works*, 1738, pressmark C.28 e.17. It bears no indication of the date of composition. On the verso of one half sheet is written: "This Original MS of Mr Pope's was given to me by Mr Warburton April 25th 1752. W. Mason." The photograph, which is reproduced by permission of the Director of the British Museum, serves to show the difficulty both of printing from a manuscript of Pope's and of indicating the manuscript changes. To print exactly what Pope wrote would be a pedantic misinterpretation of his intention, for he would never have permitted such abbreviations as *wch*, *ye*, or *£* in print, and he would not have left the second verse without punctuation. An editor must therefore exercise his judgement in setting Pope's commas and points "exactly right." A textual apparatus might be devised to carry the manuscript changes, but it is doubtful whether anything would be satisfactory short of the treatment which Aldis Wright gave to the Trinity College manuscript of Milton's *Minor Poems*.

The verses of Horace's ode which Pope has imitated are 1, 2, 3, 7.

1. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Norman Ault, who drew my attention to the manuscript.

LIBER IV.
ODE IX.

NE forte credas interitura, quæ
Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
Non ante vulgatas per artes
Verba loquor socianda chordis;

Non, si priores Maeonius tenet 5
Sedes Homerus, Pindaricæ latent
Cæaque, et Alcaei minaces
Stesichorique graves Camenæ:

Nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon,
Delevit ætas: spirat adhuc amor, 10
Vivuntque commissi calores
Æoliæ fidibus puellæ.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urguentur ignotique longa 15
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

PART OF THE NINTH ODE OF THE FOURTH BOOK

LEST you should think that Verse shall die,
Which sounds the Silver Thames along,
Taught on the Wings of Truth, to fly
Above the reach of vulgar Song;

Tho' daring Milton sits Sublime, 5
In Spencer native Muses play;
Nor yet shall Waller yield to time,
Nor pensive Cowley's moral Lay.

Sages and Chiefs long since had birth
E're Cæsar was, or Newton nam'd, 10
These rais'd new Empires o'er the Earth,
And Those new Heav'ns and Systems fram'd;

Vain was the chief's and sage's pride
They had no Poet and they dyd!
In vain they schem'd, in vain they bled 15
They had no Poet and are dead!

8. See *Ep.* π i 75ⁿ.

THE
SECOND EPISTLE
OF THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
HORACE,
IMITATED by Mr POPE

Ludentis speciem dabit & torquetur—[HOR *Ep II* u 124]

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The Second Epistle of the Second Book of Horace was first published as a 20-page folio in 1737. The text was revised when the poem was printed in a volume of the collected works in octavo in 1738. All but two of these revisions are found in Warburton's text (1751). For these two he reverts to the readings of the first edition, a change for which he may have had Pope's authority. The present text follows Warburton's, but observes the punctuation and typography of the first edition. The Latin text is reprinted from the octavo of 1738, in which it first appeared in full; for in the first edition, only the initial line of each paragraph is printed.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

- 1737 = First edition, Griffith 447.
1738 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.

[Q. HORATII FLACCI
E P. II. LIB. II.]

FLORE, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni,
Si quis fortè velit puerum tibi vendere natum
Tibure vel Gabiis: & tecum sic agat: "Hic &
"Candidus, & talos à vertice pulcher ad imos,
"Fiet eritque tuus nummorum millibus octo, 5
"Verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus heriles,
"Litterulis Græcis imbutus, idoneus arti
"Cui libet: argillâ quidvis imitaberis udd;
"Quin etiam canet indoctum, sed dulce bibenti.
"Multa fidem promissa levant, ubi plenius æquo 10
"Laudet venales, qui vult extrudere, merces.
"Res urget me nulla: meo sum pauper in ære.
"Nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi: non temere à me
"Quivis ferret idem, semel hic cessavit: & ut fit,
"In scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenæ. 15
"Des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga lædat.

Ille ferat pretium, pœna securus, opinor.
Prudens emisti viciosum: dicta tibi est lex.
Insequeris tamen hunc, & lite moraris iniquâ.

1. *Dear Col'nel*] His identity has not yet been determined. Warton, without stating his evidence, declared him to be Colonel Cotterell, of Rousham, near Oxford; but I have been unable to substantiate this. Besides being a friend of Cobham, the colonel was a peer (l. 14), and was the *tenant* of Abscourt farm, near Walton-on-Thames (ll. 232-3), the *owner* of which was George Dunk, Earl of Halifax, then a youth of twenty-one. The parish records show that Halifax regularly paid his poor rate as one of the inhabitants, but this is not a final proof of his residence. Who his tenant was I do not know.

4. *Blois*] Blois seems to have owed its reputation as a town in which French was spoken with exceptional purity to Charles Maupas, who established him-

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF *HORACE*

DEAR Col'nel! *Cobham's* and your Country's Friend!
 You love a Verse, take such as I can send.
 A Frenchman comes, presents you with his Boy,
 Bows and begins.—"This Lad, Sir, is of Blois:
 "Observe his Shape how clean! his Locks how curl'd! 5
 "My only Son, I'd have him see the World:
 "His French is pure; his Voice too—you shall hear—
 "Sir, he's your Slave, for twenty pound a year.
 "Mere Wax as yet, you fashion him with ease,
 "Your Barber, Cook, Upholst'rer, what you please. 10
 "A perfect Genius at an Opera-Song—
 "To say too much, might do my Honour wrong:
 "Take him with all his Virtues, on my word;
 "His whole Ambition was to serve a Lord,
 "But Sir, to you, with what wou'd I not part? 15
 "Tho' faith, I fear 'twill break his Mother's heart.
 "Once, (and but once) I caught him in a Lye,
 "And then, unwhipp'd, he had the grace to cry:
 "The Fault he has I fairly shall reveal,
 "(Cou'd you o'erlook but that)—it is, to steal. 20
 If, after this, you took the graceless Lad,
 Cou'd you complain, my Friend, he prov'd so bad?
 Faith, in such case, if you should prosecute,

self there at the end of the sixteenth century and taught French to "many lords and gentlemen of divers nations." Its reputation in England in the second half of the seventeenth century was consolidated by a group of French teachers who came to London from Blois and taught its accent. Of these, the most famous were Claude Mauger and Paul Festeau. Festeau's grammar, which reached a sixth edition in 1701, was advertised as the work of a "native of *Blois*, where the true tone of the French Tongue is found" (Arber, *Term. Cat.* iii 280). See K. Lambley, *The French Language in England* (1920). Blois is in Touraine, and Professor Audra tells me that the Tourangeau accent is still thought better than that of either the North or the South of France.

- Dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi* 20
Talibus officiis prope mancum: ne mea sævus
Jurgares ad te quod epistola nulla veniret.
Quid tum profeci, mecum facientia jura
Si tamen attentas? querens super hoc etiam, quod
Expectata tibi non mittam carmina mendax. 25
Luculli miles collecta viatica, multis
Ærumnis lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem
Perdiderat: post hoc vehemens lupus, & sibi & hosti
Iratus pariter, jejunis dentibus acer,
Præsidium regale loco dejecit, ut aiunt, 30
Summè munito, & multarum divite rerum.
Clarus ob id factum, donis ornatur honestis,
Accipit & bis dena super sestertia nummum.
Forte sub hoc tempus castellum evertere prætor
Nescio quod cupiens, hortari cæpit eundem 35
Verbis, quæ timido quoque possent addere mentem:
I bone, quo virtus tua te vocat: i pede fausto,
Grandia laturus meritorum præmia. quid stas?
Post hæc ille catus, quantumvis rusticus, "Ibit,
"Ibit eo, quo vis, qui zonam perdidit, inquit. 40

Romæ nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri,

24. *Sir Godfrey*] An eminent Justice of Peace, who decided much in the manner of Sancho Pança [P. 1738-51]. Sir Godfrey Kneller. "This alluded to his dismissing a soldier who had stolen a joint of meat, and accused the butcher of having tempted him by it" (Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ii 210).

43. *some Reward*] a departure from the Latin in order to reflect upon Marl-

I think Sir Godfry should decide the Suit;
 Who sent the Thief that stole the Cash, away, 25
 And punish'd him that put it in his way.

Consider then, and judge me in this light;
 I told you when I went, I could not write;
 You said the same; and are you discontent
 With Laws, to which you gave your own assent? 30
 Nay worse, to ask for Verse at such a time!
 D'ye think me good for nothing but to rhyme?

In ANNA's Wars, a Soldier poor and old,
 Had dearly earn'd a little purse of Gold:
 Tir'd with a tedious March, one luckless night, 35
 He slept, poor Dog! and lost it, to a doit.

This put the Man in such a desp'rate Mind,
 Between Revenge, and Grief, and Hunger join'd, }
 Against the Foe, himself, and all Mankind,
 He leapt the Trenches, scal'd a Castle-Wall, 40
 Tore down a Standard, took the Fort and all.

"Prodigious well!" his great Commander cry'd,
 Gave him much Praise, and some Reward beside.
 Next pleas'd his Excellence a Town to batter;
 (Its Name I know not, and it's no great matter) 45

"Go on, my Friend (he cry'd) see yonder Walls!
 "Advance and conquer! go where Glory calls!
 "More Honours, more Rewards, attend the Brave"—
 Don't you remember what Reply he gave?
 "D'ye think me, noble Gen'ral, such a Sot? 50

"Let him take Castles who has ne'er a Groat."

Bred up at home, full early I begun

25 that] who 1737.

borough's avarice.

52-3. Spence's account confirms this: "Mr Pope's first education was under a priest, and I think his name was Banister. He set out with the design of teaching him Latin and Greek together." Then, after quoting Pope's story of his meagre schooling up to the age of twelve, he continues (in Pope's words): "When I had

Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.
Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ:
Scilicet ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,
Atque inter silvas Academi quærere verum. 45
Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato;
Civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma,
Cæsaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni 50
Et laris & fundi, paupertas impulit audax
Ut versus facerem: sed, quod non desit, habentem,
Quæ poterunt unquam satîs expurgare cicutæ,
Ni melius dormire putem, quàm scribere versus?

done with my priests, I took to reading by myself . . . and in a few years I had dipped into a great number of the English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek poets" (pp. 192, 3).

57. *Maudlin*] He had a partiality for this College in Oxford, in which he had spent many agreeable days with his friend Mr. Digby [Warton].

60. *certain Laws*] The following were the most important repressive measures taken against the Catholics during Pope's life-time. (1) 1 Wm and M., 9, "for the amoving papists . . . from the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles distance from the same." (2) 11 Wm III, 4, which forbade priests to say mass or catholic schoolmasters to teach, under pain of perpetual imprisonment. Catholics were disabled from inheriting or purchasing land, and were forced to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. (3) 1 Geo. I, st. 2, c. 13, which provided that the oaths should be tendered to all suspected papists, who, if they refused to take them, would be deprived of employment in the civil service, the defence forces, and the legal profession, etc. (4) 1 Geo. I, st. 2, c. 50, 55, passed as an act of reprisal after the 1715 rebellion. By it all Catholics were compelled to register their names and real estates; two-thirds of each estate were to be appropriated for the use of the public, either "by seizing the said two-third part . . . or by laying some tax or charge upon their estates in lieu thereof." (5)

To read in Greek, the Wrath of Peleus' Son.
 Besides, my Father taught me from a Lad,
 The better Art to know the good from bad: 55
 (And little sure imported to remove,
 To hunt for Truth in *Maudlin's* learned Grove.)
 But knottier Points we knew not half so well,
 Depriv'd us soon of our Paternal Cell;
 And certain Laws, by Suff'rers thought unjust, 60
 Deny'd all Posts of Profit or of Trust:
 Hopes after Hopes of pious Papists fail'd,
 While mighty WILLIAM's thundring Arm prevail'd.
 For Right Hereditary tax'd and fin'd,
 He stuck to Poverty with Peace of Mind; 65
 And me, the Muses help'd to undergo it;
 Convict a Papist He, and I a Poet.
 But (thanks to *Homer*) since I live and thrive,
 Indebted to no Prince or Peer alive,
 Sure I should want the Care of ten *Monroes*, 70
 If I would scribble, rather than repose.

9 Geo. I, 18, which provided for £100,000 to be assessed on all papists over and above the double taxes by land tax mentioned in No. 4. Lecky believed that these acts were not rigorously enforced at all times (i 342-55); nevertheless it appears that Pope had to vacate his house at Twickenham when the court went to Hampton Court (Pope to Allen, Oct. 10 [1738?], Egerton MS. 1947, f. 28v), and owing to the issue of a proclamation in April 1744, he found it inadvisable to come to town for medical attention in his last illness (EC ix 241). See also EC vi 283.

62. *Hopes* &c.] William III came from a country where religious liberty had been established; he had promised the Emperor to procure a repeal of the penal laws; and on his arrival in England he had promised freedom of conscience to all who would live peaceably. But though he prevented persecuting laws being passed against the Catholics at the beginning of his reign, he was unable to induce Parliament to agree to the fulfilment of his promises. See Lecky, i 343, 4.

63. Imitated from *Iliad*, ix 666:

While Meleager's thundering arm prevail'd.

70. *Monroes*] Dr. MONROE, *Physician to Bedlam Hospital* [P. 1737-51]. See Biog. App.

Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes; 55
Eripuere jocos, venerem, convivia, ludum;
Tendunt extorquere poemata. quid faciam vis?

Denique non omnes eadem mirantur amanti.
Carmine tu gaudes: hic delectatur iambis;
Ille Broneus sermonibus, & sale nigro. 60
Tres mihi convivæ prope dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multùm diversa palato.
Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu quod jubet alter:
Quod petis, id sanè est invisum acidumque duobus.

Præter cætera, me Romæne poemata censes 65
Scribere posse, inter tot curas totque labores?
Hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta, relictis
Omnibus officiis: cubat hic in colle Quirini,
Hic extremo in Aventino; visendus uterque.
Intervalla vides humane commoda! "Verum 70
"Puræ sunt plateæ, nihil ut meditantibus obstat."
Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor;
Torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum:
Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustis:
Hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus. 75

72. *Years following Years*] "I heartily thank you for those lines translated, *Singula de nobis anni*, &c. You have put them in a strong and admirable light." Swift to Pope, Feb. 9, 1736-7. See *Ep.* II i 221n.

Years foll'wing Years, steal something ev'ry day,
 At last they steal us from our selves away;
 In one our Frolicks, one Amusements end,
 In one a Mistress drops, in one a Friend: 75
 This subtle Thief of Life, this paltry Time,
 What will it leave me, if it snatch my Rhime?
 If ev'ry Wheel of that unwear'y'd Mill
 That turn'd ten thousand Verses, now stands still.

But after all, what wou'd you have me do? 80
 When out of twenty I can please not two;
 When this Heroicks only deigns to praise,
 Sharp Satire that, and that Pindaric lays?
 One likes the Pheasant's wing, and one the leg;
 The Vulgar boil, the Learned roast an Egg; 85
 Hard Task! to hit the Palate of such Guests,
 When Oldfield loves, what Dartineuf detests.

But grant I may relapse, for want of Grace,
 Again to rhyme, can *London* be the Place?
 Who there his Muse, or Self, or Soul attends? 90
 In Crouds and Courts, Law, Business, Feasts and Friends?
 My Counsel sends to execute a Deed:
 A Poet begs me, I will hear him read:
 In Palace-Yard at Nine you'll find me there—
 At Ten for certain, Sir, in Bloomsb'ry-Square— 95
 Before the Lords at Twelve my Cause comes on—
 There's a Rehearsal, Sir, exact at One.—
 "Oh but a Wit can study in the Streets,
 "And raise his Mind above the Mob he meets."
 Not quite so well however as one ought; 100
 A Hackney-Coach may chance to spoil a Thought,
 And then a nodding Beam, or Pig of Lead,

87 Dartineuf] Dar --- n --- f 1737.

76. Pope had in mind the first line of Milton's sonnet:

How soon hath Time the subtle thief of youth . . .

87. *Oldfield*] See *Sat.* II ii 25. For *Dartineuf*, see *Biog.* App.

*Inunc, & versus tecum meditare canoros.
Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus, & fugit urbes,
Rite cliens Bacchi, somno gaudentis & umbra.
Tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
Vis canere, & contacta sequi vestigia vatum?* 80

*Ingenium, sibi quod vacuas desumsit Athenas,
Et studiis annos septem dedit, insenuitque
Libris & curis, statuâ taciturnius exit
Plerumque, & risu populum quatit: hîc ego rerum
Fluctibus in mediis, & tempestatibus Urbis,
Verba lyrae motura sonum connectere digner?* 85

*Frater erat Romæ Consulti Rhetor; ut alter
Alterius sermone meros audiret honores:
Gracchus ut hic illi foret, hic ut Mucius illi.
Quî minùs argutos vexat furor iste poetas?* 90

104. *Guild-hall's . . . Pass*] i.e. Guildhall Alley, a narrow passage, not named on the maps, leading from Basinghall street to the back of the Guildhall. See Ogilby and Morgan's Map (1677), fascimile published by London and Mex Archaeolog. Soc., and H. A. Harben's *Dictionary of London* [EJD].

107. *S—r—v—nee*] Sir-reverence, i.e. human excrement.

Carr] Since this word was normally used in the sense of "triumphal chariot" (cf. *Dunciad*, iv 133, *Dia.* i 151), the line would seem more ludicrous to eighteenth-century than to modern readers.

God knows, may hurt the very ablest Head.
 Have you not seen at Guild-hall's narrow Pass,
 Two Aldermen dispute it with an Ass? 105
 And Peers give way, exalted as they are,
 Ev'n to their own S-r-v--nce in a Carr?
 Go, lofty Poet! and in such a Croud,
 Sing thy sonorous Verse—but not aloud.
 Alas! to Grotto's and to Groves we run, 110
 To Ease and Silence, ev'ry Muse's Son:
Blackmore himself, for any grand Effort,
 Would drink and doze at *Tooting* or *Earl's-Court*.
 How shall I rhyme in this eternal Roar?
 How match the Bards whom none e'er match'd before? 115
 The Man, who stretch'd in Isis' calm Retreat
 To Books and Study gives sev'n years compleat,
 See! strow'd with learned dust, his Night-cap on,
 He walks, an Object new beneath the Sun!
 The Boys flock round him, and the People stare: } 120
 So stiff, so mute! some Statue, you would swear,
 Stept from its Pedestal to take the Air.
 And here, while Town, and Court, and City roars,
 With Mobs, and Duns, and Soldiers, at their doors;
 Shall I, in *London*, act this idle part? 125
 Composing Songs, for Fools to get by heart?
 The *Temple* late two Brother Sergeants saw,
 Who deem'd each other Oracles of Law;
 With equal Talents, these congenial Souls
 One lull'd th' *Exchequer*, and one stunn'd the *Rolls*; 130

113. *Tooting or Earl's-Court*] Two Villages within a few [3 or 4 1737] Miles of London [P. 1737-51]. Blackmore had a country house at Earl's Court (Hughes, *Letters*, 1772, i 145). He had stated in the preface to his revised edition of *King Arthur* (1697), p. v, that "for the greatest part that Poem was written in Coffee-houses, and in passing up and down the Streets; because I had little leisure elsewhere to apply it."

117. *sev'n years*] the term for completing the M.A. degree.

Carmina compono, hic elegos; "mirabile visu!
 "Caelatumque novem Musis opus!" Adspice primum,
 Quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-
 spectemus vacuam Romanis vatibus ædem.
 Mox etiam (si forte vacas) sequere, & procul audi, 95
 Quid ferat, & quare sibi nectat uterque coronam.
 Cædimur, & totidem plagis consumimus hostem,
 Lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.
 Discedo Alcæus puncto illius; ille meo quis?
 Quis, nisi Callimachus? si plus adposcere visus, 100
 Fit Mimnermus, & optivo cognomine crescit.

Multa fero, ut placeam genus irritabile vatum,
 Cùm scribo, & supplex populi suffragia capto:
 Idem, finitis studius, & mente receptâ,
 Obturem patulas impunè legentibus aures. 105

Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina: verùm
 Gaudenē scribentes, & se venerantur, & ultro,
 Si taceas, laudant quidquid scripsere, beati.
 At qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poema,
 Cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti: 110
 Audebit quæcunque parum splendoris habebunt,
 Et sine pondere erunt, & honore indigna ferentur,

139. *Lord . . . strut*] perhaps suggested by Creech's version:

See how we strut . . .

Merlin's Cave] See *Ep.* ii 355n.

140. *Stephen*] Stephen Duck. See *Biog.* App.

146. Wakefield notes the imitation of Dryden's *Virgil*, *Ecl.* iii 162:

Each had a Gravity wou'd make you split,
 And shook his head at *Murray*, as a Wit.
 'Twas, "Sir your Law"—and "Sir, your Eloquence"—
 "Yours *Cowper*'s Manner—and yours *Talbot*'s Sense."
 Thus we dispose of all poetic Merit, 135
 Yours *Milton*'s Genius, and mine *Homer*'s Spirit.
 Call *Tibbald Shakespear*, and he'll swear the Nine
 Dear *Cibber*! never match'd one Ode of thine.
 Lord! how we strut thro' *Merlin*'s Cave, to see
 No Poets there, but *Stephen*, you, and me. 140
 Walk with respect behind, while we at ease
 Weave Laurel Crowns, and take what Names we please.
 "My dear *Tibullus*!" if that will not do,
 "Let me be *Horace*, and be *Ovid* you."
 "Or, I'm content, allow me *Dryden*'s strains, 145
 "And you shall rise up *Otway* for your pains."
 Much do I suffer, much, to keep in peace
 This jealous, waspish, wrong-head, rhiming Race;
 And much must flatter, if the Whim should bite
 To court applause by printing what I write: 150
 But let the Fit pass o'er, I'm wise enough,
 To stop my ears to their confounded stuff.
 In vain, bad Rhimers all mankind reject,
 They treat themselves with most profound respect;
 'Tis to small purpose that you hold your tongue, 155
 Each prais'd within, is happy all day long.
 But how severely with themselves proceed
 The Men, who write such Verse as we can read?
 Their own strict Judges, not a word they spare

132 *Murray*] *M*-----*y* 1737-43. 150 court] seek 1737.

Tell that, and rise a *Phæbus* for thy pains.

148. Both Creech and Pope translate *irritabile* by *waspish*. But perhaps the rendering would not appear uncommon to a contemporary.

159. *Their own strict Judges*] an echo of *Temple of Fame*, 167:

His own strict Judge . . .

*Verba movere loco; quamvis invita recedant,
 Et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestæ:*
 Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet, atque 115
*Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
 Quæ priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegus,
 Nunc situs informis premit & deserta vetustas:
 Adsciscet nova, quæ genitor produxerit usus:
 Vehemens & liquidus, puroque simillimus amni, 120
 Fundet opes, Latiumque beabit divite lingua:
 Luxuriantia compescet: nimis aspera sano
 Levabit cultu, virtute carentia tollet.
 Ludentis speciem dabit, & torquebitur; ut qui
 Nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur: 125*

*Prætulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri,
 Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant,
 Quàm sapere, & ringi. Fuit haud ignobilis Argis,
 Qui se credebat miros audire tragædos,
 In vacuo letus sessor plausorque theatro: 130
 Cætera qui vitæ servaret munia recto
 More; bonus sanè vicinus, amabilis hospes,
 Comes in uxorem; posset qui ignoscere servis,
 Et signo læso non insanire lagenæ:*

168. The writings of Bacon and Raleigh were still easily accessible. *B.M. Cat.* records that an edition of Bacon's *Works* was published in 1730, of the *Philosophical Works* in 1733, of the *Essays* in 1701, 1706, and 1720, of the *Letters* in 1702, 1734, and 1736. An edition of Raleigh's *Remains* was published in 1702; in the same year his grandson published the *Three Discourses* on war and eccle-

That wants or Force, or Light, or Weight, or Care,	160
Howe'er unwillingly it quits its place,	
Nay tho' at Court (perhaps) it may find grace:	
Such they'll degrade; and sometimes, in its stead,	
In downright Charity revive the dead;	
Mark where a bold expressive Phrase appears,	165
Bright thro' the rubbish of some hundred years;	
Command old words that long have slept, to wake,	
Words, that wise <i>Bacon</i> , or brave <i>Raleigh</i> spake;	
Or bid the new be <i>English</i> , Ages hence,	
(For Use will father what's begot by Sense)	170
Pour the full Tide of Eloquence along,	}
Serenely pure, and yet divinely strong,	
Rich with the Treasures of each foreign Tongue;	
Prune the luxuriant, the uncouth refine,	
But show no mercy to an empty line;	175
Then polish all, with so much life and ease,	
You think 'tis Nature, and a knack to please:	
"But Ease in writing flows from Art, not Chance,	
"As those move easiest who have learn'd to dance.	
If such the Plague and pains to write by rule,	180
Better (say I) be pleas'd, and play the fool;	
Call, if you will, bad Rhiming a disease,	
It gives men happiness, or leaves them ease.	
There liv'd, in <i>primo Georgii</i> (they record)	
A worthy Member, no small Fool, a Lord;	185
Who, tho' the House was up, delighted sate,	
Heard, noted, answer'd, as in full Debate:	
In all but this, a man of sober Life,	

168 Words, that] Such as 1737.

siastical power; and in 1736, Oldys produced his edition of the *History of the World*. When talking over the design of a standard English Dictionary with Warburton, Pope accepted Bacon as an authority but rejected Raleigh as "too affected" (Spence, p. 310).

178-9. Slightly altered from *E. on C.*, ll. 362-3.

Posset qui rupem, & puteum vitare patentem. 135
Hic ubi cognatorum opibus curisque reffectus
Expulit elleboro morbum bilemque meraco,
Et redit ad sese: "Pol me occidistis, amici,
Non servastis, ait; cui sic extorta voluptas,
Et demtus per vim mentis gratissimus error. 140

Nimirum sapere est abjectis utile nugis,
Et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum;
Ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
Sed veræ numerosque modosque ediscere vitæ.

Quocirca mecum loquor hæc, tacitusque recorder: 145

Si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphæ,
Narrares medicis: quod quanto plura parasti,
Tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes?

Si vulnus tibi monstratâ radice vel herbâ

198 plain] then 1737.

190. EC compares "the standard of female self-restraint" in *Moral Ex.* ii 268:

And Mistress of herself, tho' China fall.

208. EC observes that Pope leaves Horace here to borrow from Boileau (*Ep.* vi 27-8):

Fond of his Friend, and civil to his Wife,
 Not quite a Mad-man, tho' a Pasty fell, 190
 And much too wise to walk into a Well:
 Him, the damn'd Doctors and his Friends immur'd,
 They bled, they cupp'd, they purg'd; in short, they cur'd:
 Whereat the Gentleman began to stare—
 My Friends? he cry'd, p—x take you for your care! 195
 That from a Patriot of distinguish'd note,
 Have bled and purg'd me to a simple *Vote*.

Well, on the whole, *plain* Prose must be my fate:
 Wisdom (curse on it) will come soon or late.
 There is a time when Poets will grow dull: 200
 I'll e'en leave Verses to the Boys at school:
 To Rules of Poetry no more confin'd,
 I learn to smooth and harmonize my Mind,
 Teach ev'ry Thought within its bounds to roll,
 And keep the equal Measure of the Soul. 205

Soon as I enter at my Country door,
 My Mind resumes the thread it dropt before;
 Thoughts, which at Hyde-Park-Corner I forgot,
 Meet and rejoin me, in the pensive Grott.
 There all alone, and Compliments apart, 210
 I ask these sober questions of my Heart.

If, when the more you drink, the more you crave,
 You tell the Doctor; when the more you have,
 The more you want, why not with equal ease
 Confess as well your Folly, as Disease? 215
 The Heart resolves this matter in a trice,
 "Men only feel the Smart, but not the Vice."

When golden Angels cease to cure the Evil,

209 the]my 1737.

Tantôt, cherchant la fin d'un vers que je construi,
 Je trouve au coin d'un bois le mot qui m'avait fui.

Hyde Park Corner was on the outskirts of London in Pope's day.

218. It was generally believed as late as Stuart times that King's Evil (i.e.

Non fieret levius, fugeres radice vel herbâ 150
Proficiente nihil curarier: audieras, cui
Rem Dî donarent, illi decedere pravam
Stultitiam; & cùm sis nihilo sapientior, ex quo
Plenior es, tamen uteris monitoribus iisdem?

At si divitiæ prudentem reddere possent, 155
Si cupidum timidumque minus te: nempe ruberes,
Viveret in terris te si quis avarior uno.

Si proprium est, quod quis librâ mercatur & ære est,
Quædam (si credis consultis) mancipat usus:
Qui te pascit ager, tuus est; & villicus Orbi, 160
Cùm segetes occat, tibi mox frumenta daturus,
Te dominum sentit—

—das nummos; accipis uvam,
Pullos, ova, cadum temeti: nempe modo isto
Paulatim mercaris agrum, fortasse trecentis,
Aut etiam supra nummorum milibus emtum. 165
Quid refert vivas numerato nuper, an olim?
Emtor Aricini quondam, Veientis & arvi,
Emtor cœnat olus, quamvis aliter putat; emitis

222 D ---] Duke 1738-43. 229 D***] vile Van-muck 1738-43.

Scrofula) could be cured by the royal touch. Queen Anne "touched," but the power was not claimed for George I or subsequent kings. The angel was a gold coin presented by the king to each patient. "When it ceased to be coined, small medals having the same device were substituted for it, and were hence called *touch-pieces*" [OED]. See *Macbeth*, iv iii 141-56.

220. *servile Chaplains &c.*] Taken as alluding to White Kennett, who was believed to have owed his promotion to the deanery of Peterborough in 1708 to a funeral sermon preached on the first Duke of Devonshire in the previous year. Kennett had died in 1728, and the second Duke in 1729. Pattison plausibly suggests that the old story was resurrected in order to insult the third Duke, a steady supporter of Walpole. See Biog. App., Cavendish.

229, var. *vile Van-muck*] The reading of 1738 (and subsequent lifetime editions).

You give all royal Witchcraft to the Devil:
 When servile Chaplains cry, that Birth and Place 220
 Indue a Peer with Honour, Truth, and Grace,
 Look in that Breast, most dirty *D*—! be fair,
 Say, can you find out one such Lodger there?
 Yet still, not heeding what your Heart can teach,
 You go to Church to hear these Flatt'ners preach. 225
 Indeed, could Wealth bestow or Wit or Merit,
 A grain of Courage, or a spark of Spirit,
 The wisest Man might blush, I must agree,
 If *D* * * * lov'd Sixpence, more than he.
 If there be truth in Law, and *Use* can give 230
 A *Property*, that's yours on which you live.
 Delightful *Abs-court*, if its Fields afford
 Their Fruits to you, confesses you its Lord:
 All Worldly's Hens, nay Partridge, sold to town,
 His Ven'son too, a Guinea makes your own: 235
 He bought at thousands, what with better wit
 You purchase as you want, and bit by bit;
 Now, or long since, what diff^rence will be found?
 You pay a Penny, and he paid a Pound.
 Heathcote himself, and such large-acred Men, 240
 Lords of fat *E'sham*, or of Lincoln Fen,

234 Worldly's] He---te's 1737. 240 Heathcote] H—te 1737.

Pope is reflecting on Joshua [?] Vanneck, who in the autumn of 1738 had offered to buy Dawley Farm from Bolingbroke at a price which proved unacceptable. See further, Biog. App.

*D**** stands for *Devonshire* (see l. 220n).

232. The estate of Apps-Court (or Abscourt), near Walton-on-Thames, was at this time owned by the Earl of Halifax (see l. 17n). It has since been excavated to form a reservoir.

232-3. Creech translates the passage:

... The fruitful Clod, that must afford
 Good Corn to Thee, confesses thee his Lord.

234. *Worldly*] i.e. Wortley Montagu. Cf. *Sat.* II ii 51.

*Sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat ahenum.
Sed vocat usque suum, quâ populus adsita certis* 170
*Limitibus vicina refugit jurgia: tanquam
Sit proprium quidquam, puncto quod mobilis horæ,
Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc sorte supremâ
Permutet dominos, & cedat in altera jura.*

Sic, quia perpetuus nulli datur usus, & hæres 175
*Hæredem alterius, velut unda supervenit undam:
Quid vici prosunt, aut horrea? quidve Calabris
Saltibus adjecti Lucani; si metit Orcus
Grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro?*

Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas, 180
*Argentum, vestes Gætulo murice tinctas,
Sunt qui non habeant; est qui non curet habere.*

*Cur alter fratrum cessare, & ludere, & ungi,
Præferat Herodas palmetis pinguibus; alter*
Dives & importunus, ad umbram lucis ab ortu 185

247. *Perpetuity*] "Unlimited duration; exemption from intermission or ceasing, where, though all who have interest should join in a covenant, they could not bar or pass the estate. It is odious in law, destructive to the commonwealth, and an impediment to commerce, by preventing the wholesome circulation of property" [Wharton's *Law Lexicon*].

248. Pope had already treated this theme at the conclusion of *Sat. II II*.

256. The year before this *Imitation* was written, Lord Bathurst had consulted

Buy every stick of Wood that lends them heat,
 Buy every Pullet they afford to eat.
 Yet these are Wights, who fondly call their own
 Half that the Dev'l o'erlooks from Lincoln Town. 245
 The Laws of God, as well as of the Land,
 Abhor, a *Perpetuity* should stand:
 Estates have wings, and hang in Fortune's pow'r
 Loose on the point of ev'ry wav'ring Hour;
 Ready, by force, or of your own accord, 250
 By sale, at least by death, to change their Lord.
Man? and *for ever?* Wretch! what wou'dst thou have?
 Heir urges Heir, like Wave impelling Wave:
 All vast Possessions (just the same the case
 Whether you call them Villa, Park, or Chace) 255
 Alas, my BATHURST! what will they avail?
 Join *Cotswold Hills* to *Saperton's* fair Dale,
 Let rising Granaries and Temples here,
 There mingled Farms and Pyramids appear,
 Link Towns to Towns with Avenues of Oak, 260
 Enclose whole Downs in Walls, 'tis all a joke!
 Inexorable Death shall level all,
 And Trees, and Stones, and Farms, and Farmer fall.
 Gold, Silver, Iv'ry, Vases sculptur'd high,
 Paint, Marble, Gems, and Robes of *Persian* Dye, 265
 There are who have not—and thank Heav'n there are
 Who, if they have not, think not worth their care.
 Talk what you will of Taste, my Friend, you'll find,
 Two of a Face, as soon as of a Mind.
 Why, of two Brothers, rich and restless one 270

Pope about some alterations to his seat near Cirencester: "Besides this you will see that I have brought a great quantity of very good hewn stone from the old house at Saperton to the great centre in Oakley wood. Nothing is wanting but your direction to set the work forward. I have also begun to level the hill before the house, and an obelisk shall rise upon your orders to terminate the view" (Aug. 14, 1736); but Pope preferr'd "a solid pyramid of a hundred feet square, to the end there may be something solid and lasting of your works" (Sept. 15).

*Silvestrem flammis & ferro mitiget agrum;
 Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum:
 NATURÆ DEUS HUMANÆ, mortalis in unum—
 Quodque caput, voltu mutabilis, albus & ater.*

Utar, & ex modico, quantum res poscit, acervo 190
*Tollam; nec metuam, quid de me judicet hæres,
 Quod non plura datis invenerit. & tamen idem
 Scire volam, quantum simplex hilarisque nepoti
 Discrepet, & quantum discordet parcus avaro;
 Distat enim, spargas tua prodigus, an neque sumtum* 195
*Invitus facias, neque plura parare labores;
 An potius, puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim,
 Exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.*

*Pauperies immunda domûs procul absit. ego, utrûm
 Nave ferar magnâ an parvâ; ferar unus & idem.* 200
*Non agimur tumidis velis Aquilone secundo:
 Non tamen adversis ætatem ducimus Austris.
 Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,*

273. The Grosvenor family had owned coal mines in North Wales since the sixteenth century (G. Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, 1875, ii 836). When Pope wrote, they had only recently started to develop their Westminster property, which was to add so greatly to the family wealth. For Townshend, see Biog. App.

Ploughs, burns, manures, and toils from Sun to Sun;
 The other slights, for Women, Sports, and Wines,
 All *Townshend's* Turnips, and all *Grovenor's* Mines:
 Why one like *Bu*— with Pay and Scorn content,
 Bows and votes on, in Court and Parliament; 275
 One, driv'n by strong Benevolence of Soul,
 Shall fly, like *Oglethorp*, from Pole to Pole:
 Is known alone to that Directing Pow'r,
 Who forms the Genius in the natal Hour;
 That God of Nature, who, within us still, 280
 Inclines our Action, not constrains our Will;
 Various of Temper, as of Face or Frame,
 Each Individual: His great End the same.
 Yes, Sir, how small soever be my heap,
 A part I will enjoy, as well as keep. 285
 My Heir may sigh, and think it want of Grace
 A man so poor wou'd live without a *Place*:
 But sure no Statute in his favour says,
 How free, or frugal, I shall pass my days:
 I, who at some times spend, at others spare, 290
 Divided between Carelessness and Care.
 'Tis one thing madly to disperse my store,
 Another, not to heed to treasure more;
 Glad, like a Boy, to snatch the first good day,
 And pleas'd, if sordid Want be far away. 295
 What is't to me (a Passenger God wot)
 Whether my Vessel be first-rate or not?
 The Ship it self may make a better figure,
 But I that sail, am neither less nor bigger.
 I neither strut with ev'ry fav'ring breath, 300

274. *Bu*—] Bubba Dodington.

288. *no Statute*] See l. 60n. *supra*.

300. *strut*] swell, or protrude. Pope contrasts the picture of a man swaggering along, head back and chest puffed out, with that of a man forcing his way, head forward, against a strong wind.

Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.

Non es avarus: abi. quid? cætera jam simul isto 205
Cum vitio fugere? caret tibi pectus inani
Ambitione? caret mortis formidine & irâ?
Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Thessala rides?
Natales gratè numeras? ignoscis amicis? 210
Lenior & melior fis accedente senectâ?
Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una?

Vivere si rectè nescis, decede peritis.
Lusisti satîs, edisti satîs, atque bibisti:
Tempus abire tibi est: ne potum largiûs æque 215
Rideat, & pulset lasciva decentiûs ætas.

Nor strive with all the Tempest in my teeth.

In Pow'r, Wit, Figure, Virtue, Fortune, plac'd
Behind the foremost, and before the last.

"But why all this of Av'rice? I have none."

I wish you joy, Sir, of a Tyrant gone; 305

But does no other lord it at this hour,

As wild and mad? the Avarice of Pow'r?

Does neither Rage inflame, nor Fear appall?

Not the black Fear of Death, that saddens all?

With Terrors round can Reason hold her throne, 310

Despise the known, nor tremble at th' unknown?

Survey both Worlds, intrepid and entire,

In spite of Witches, Devils, Dreams, and Fire?

Pleas'd to look forward, pleas'd to look behind,

And count each Birth-day with a grateful mind? 315

Has Life no sourness, drawn so near its end?

Can'st thou endure a Foe, forgive a Friend?

Has Age but melted the rough parts away,

As Winter-fruits grow mild e'er they decay?

Or will you think, my Friend, your business done, 320

When, of a hundred thorns, you pull out one?

Learn to live well, or fairly make your Will;

You've play'd, and lov'd, and eat, and drank your fill:

Walk sober off; before a sprightlier Age

Comes titt'ring on, and shoves you from the stage: 325

Leave such to trifle with more grace and ease,

Whom Folly pleases, and whose Follies please.

FINIS

THE
FIRST EPISTLE
OF THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
HORACE,
IMITATED.

Ne Rubeam, pingui donatus Munere !—HOR. [*Ep. II. i. 267.*]

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated was first published as a 28-page folio in 1737. The text was revised when the poem was reprinted for inclusion in a volume of the collected works in octavo in 1738. A few more revisions were made at a later date which were first incorporated in Warburton's text (1751). The present text follows Warburton's, but observes the punctuation and typography of the first edition. The Latin text is reprinted from the octavo of 1738, in which it first appeared in full.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

- 1737 = First edition, Griffith 458.
1737^b = Edition in octavo, Griffith 459.
1738 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.
TPQ = Thick Paper Quarto of uncertain date, Griffith 514?

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THE *Reflections of Horace, and the Judgments past in his Epistle to Augustus, seem'd so seasonable to the present Times, that I could not help applying them to the use of my own Country. The Author thought them considerable enough to address them to His Prince; whom he paints with all the great and good Qualities of a Monarch, upon whom the Romans depended for the Encrease of an Absolute Empire. But to make the Poem entirely English, I was willing to add one or two of those which contribute to the Happiness of a Free People, and are more consistent with the Welfare of our Neighbours.*

This Epistle will show the learned World to have fallen into two mistakes; one, that Augustus was a Patron of Poets in general; whereas he not only prohibited all but the Best Writers to name him, but recommended that Care even to the Civil Magistrate: Admonebat Prætores, ne paterentur Nomen suum obsolefieri, &c. The other, that this Piece was only a general Discourse of Poetry; whereas it was an Apology for the Poets, in order to render Augustus more their Patron. Horace here pleads the Cause of his Cotemporaries, first against the Taste of the Town, whose humour it was to magnify the Authors of the preceding Age; secondly against the Court and Nobility, who encouraged only the Writers for the Theatre; and lastly against the Emperor himself, who had conceived them of

i his] this 1737.

7 of those which] such, as 1737: of those Virtues which 1738-43.

14 The other, that] The other to imagine 1737.

14 was only] to be 1737. 15 was] is 1737.

4. This poem is addressed to George II, also christened Augustus; but since the king was openly contemptuous of letters, and Pope (and the Opposition for whom he is speaking) disliked the Court, the compliments, imitated from those sincerely paid by Horace to Augustus, are to be construed ironically. The contrast between the two Augustuses occurred independently to Hervey, who writes: "Not that there was any similitude between the two princes who presided in the Roman and English Augustan ages besides their names, for George Augustus neither loved learning nor encouraged men of letters, nor were there any Mæcenases about him. There was another very material difference too between these two Augustuses. For as personal courage was the only quality necessary to form a great prince which the one was suspected to want, so I fear it was the only one the other was ever thought to possess" (*Memoirs*, p. 261).

13. *Admonebat &c.]* from Suetonius, *Augustus*, sect. 89.

little use to the Government. He shews (by a view of the Progress of Learning, and the Change of Taste among the Romans) that the Introduction of the Polite Arts of Greece had given the Writers of his Time great advantages over their Predecessors, that their Morals were much improved, and the
25 Licence of those ancient Poets restrained: that Satire and Comedy were become more just and useful; that whatever extravagancies were left on the Stage, were owing to the Ill Taste of the Nobility; that Poets, under due Regulations, were in many respects useful to the State; and concludes, that it was upon them the Emperor himself must depend, for his Fame with
30 Posterity.

We may farther learn from this Epistle, that Horace made his Court to this Great Prince, by writing with a decent Freedom toward him, with a just Contempt of his low Flatterers, and with a manly Regard to his own Character.

[Q. HORATII FLACCI
E P. I. LIB. II.]

CUM tot sustineas & tanta negotia, solus;
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes; in publica commoda peccem,
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Cæsar.

Romulus, & Liber pater, & cum Castore Pollux, 5
Post ingentia facta, Deorum in templa recepti,
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
Componunt, agros adsignant, oppida condunt;
Ploravere suis non respondere favorem
Speratum meritis. Diram qui contudit Hydram, 10
Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
Comperit Invidiam supremo fine domari.
Urit enim fulgore suo qui prægravat artes
Infra se positas: extinctus amabitur idem.

Præsentî Tibi maturos largimur honores: 15

HORACE] 1751 adds the sub-title To AUGUSTUS, which had been
used in advertisements in the London Evening Post, July 28, 1737, and

1. *sustain* . . . *World*] Pope seems to imply that Walpole's pacific policy prevented England from taking her full part in foreign affairs.

2. *open*] probably OED's sense 12, to render available for trade, used ironically. Complaints of Spanish attacks upon English merchantmen were becoming more frequent.

3. See l. 397n. It should be remembered that this was written before George II's exploits at the battle of Dettingen.

abroad] This poem was published four months after the King's return from a visit

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF *HORACE*

WHILE You, great Patron of Mankind, sustain
The balanc'd World, and open all the Main;
Your Country, chief, in Arms abroad defend,
At home, with Morals, Arts, and Laws amend;
How shall the Muse, from such a Monarch, steal 5
An hour, and not defraud the Publick Weal?

Edward and Henry, now the Boast of Fame,
And virtuous Alfred, a more sacred Name,
After a Life of gen'rous Toils endur'd,
The Gaul subdu'd, or Property secur'd, 10
Ambition humbled, mighty Cities storm'd,
Or Laws establish'd, and the World reform'd;
Clos'd their long Glories with a sigh, to find
Th' unwilling Gratitude of base mankind!
All human Virtue to its latest breath 15
Finds Envy never conquer'd, but by Death.
The great Alcides, ev'ry Labour past,
Had still this Monster to subdue at last.
Sure fate of all, beneath whose rising ray
Each Star of meaner merit fades away; 20
Oppress'd we feel the Beam directly beat,
Those Suns of Glory please not till they set.

To Thee, the World its present homage pays,

the Daily Gazetteer, Aug. 3, 1737, and in the tables of contents of 1738 and 1740.

to Hanover so prolonged, that "almost universal dissatisfaction" was expressed at his conduct (Hervey, pp. 609, 638; Egmont, ii 325, 330).

4. See Biog. App., George II.

7. Edward III and Henry V.

15-16. cf. Waller's *A Panegyrick to my Lord Protector*, ll. 147-8:

But living virtue, all achievements past,
Meets envy still, to grapple with at last.

*Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras,
Nil oriturum aliàs, nil ortum tale fatentes.*

*Sed tuus hoc populus sapiens & justus in uno,
Te nostris Ducibus, Te Graiis anteferendo,
Cætera nequaquam simili ratione modoque
Æstimat; & nisi quæ terris semota, suisque
Temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit & odit.
Sic fautor Veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes,
Quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, fœdera regum,
Vel Gabiis, vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,
Pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum,
Dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.*

*Si, quia Græcorum sunt antiquissima quæque
Scripta, vel optima; Romani pensantur eadem
Scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur:
Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri.
Venimus ad summum fortunæ; pingimus, atque*

36. *rust we value*] cf. *Ep. to Addison* (vol. vi) l. 36.

37. Except by Dryden, Pope, and a few others, Chaucer was generally regarded at this time as merely a bawdy poet. For Pope's attitude to Chaucer, see preface to vol. ii.

38. *beastly Skelton*] Poet Laureat to Hen. 8. a Volume of whose Verses has been lately reprinted, consisting almost wholly of Ribaldry, Obscenity, and Scurrilous [Billingsgate 1737] Language [P. 1737-51]. Skelton's works were reprinted in 1736 for the first time since 1568. Dyson plausibly suggests that Pope may have heard of the volume's reception at the universities from Spence; they had discussed Skelton together, and Pope had said, "Skelton's poems are all low and bad: there's nothing in them that's worth reading" (*Anecdotes*, p. 173). Warton perpetuated Skelton's reputation for "coarseness, obscenity, and

- The Harvest early, but mature the Praise:
 Great Friend of LIBERTY! in *Kings* a Name 25
 Above all Greek, above all Roman Fame:
 Whose Word is Truth, as sacred and rever'd,
 As Heav'n's own Oracles from Altars heard.
 Wonder of Kings! like whom, to mortal eyes
 None e'er has risen, and none e'er shall rise. 30
 Just in one instance, be it yet confest
 Your People, Sir, are partial in the rest.
 Foes to all living worth except your own,
 And Advocates for Folly dead and gone.
 Authors, like Coins, grow dear as they grow old; 35
 It is the rust we value, not the gold.
 Chaucer's worst ribaldry is learn'd by rote,
 And beastly Skelton Heads of Houses quote:
 One likes no language but the Faery Queen;
 A Scot will fight for Christ's Kirk o' the Green; 40
 And each true Briton is to Ben so civil,
 He swears the Muses met him at the Devil.
 Tho' justly Greece her eldest sons admires,
 Why should not we be wiser than our Sires?
 In ev'ry publick Virtue we excell, 45
 We build, we paint, we sing, we dance as well,
 And learned Athens to our Art must stoop,

scurrility" (*History of Poetry*, 1778, ii 341).

40. *Christ's Kirk o' the Green*] A Ballad made by a King of Scotland [P. 1737-51]. Various attributed to James I and James V. The poem had been reprinted frequently in Pope's life-time: by Edmund Gibson in his edition of Drummond's *Polemo-Middinia*, 1691; it was the first poem in James Watson's *Choice Collection of Scots Poems*, 1706, and it had been reprinted with additions by Allan Ramsay in 1718, 1720, 1722, and 1723, as well as in his own *Poems*, 1721, to which Pope was a subscriber. *Fight* was no doubt suggested by the local patriotism of Ramsay's preface to *The Ever Green*, in which *Christ's Kirk* was also reprinted.

42. The Devil Tavern, where Ben. Johnson held his Poetical Club [P. 1737-51].

Psallimus, & luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.

Si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddit;
Scire velim, chartis pretium quotus arroget annus? 35
Scriptor ab hinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
Perfectos veteresque referri debet, an inter
Viles atque novos? excludat jurgia finis.

"Est vetus atque probus, centum qui perficit annos.

Quid? qui deperit minor uno mense, vel anno; 40
Inter quos referendus erit? veteresne poetas,
An quos & præsens & postera respuet ætas?
"Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honestè,
"Qui vel mense brevi, vel toto est junior anno.

Utor permisso, caudæque pilos ut equinæ 45
Paulatim vello, & demo unum, demo etiam unum;
Dum cadat elusus, ratione ruentis acervi,
Qui redit ad fastos, & virtutem æstimat annis,
Miraturque nihil, nisi quod Libitina sacravit.

Ennius (& sapiens, & fortis, & alter Homerus, 50
Ut Critici dicunt) leviter curare videtur,
Quo promissa cadant, & somnia Pythagorea.
Nevius in manibus non est: at mentibus hæret
Pene recens:

48. A reference to the contemporary popularity of pantomime. See Biog. App., Rich.

62. *Courtesy of England*] A legal term signifying the custom by which a husband, after his wife's death, holds certain kinds of property which she has inherited. The husband will not be disturbed in his tenure of property, nor the poet in his tenure of fame, in spite of their being unable to make out a prescriptive title.

66. *Stowe*] "The most accurate and businesslike of the Elizabethan chroniclers" (DNB). His *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* was published in 1565 and his

Could she behold us tumbling thro' a hoop.
 If Time improve our Wit as well as Wine,
 Say at what age a Poet grows divine? 50
 Shall we, or shall we not, account him so,
 Who dy'd, perhaps, an hundred years ago?
 End all dispute; and fix the year precise
 When British bards begin t' Immortalize?
 "Who lasts a Century can have no flaw, 55
 "I hold that Wit a Classick, good in law.
 Suppose he wants a year, will you compound?
 And shall we deem him Ancient, right and sound,
 Or damn to all Eternity at once,
 At ninety nine, a Modern, and a Dunce? 60
 "We shall not quarrel for a year or two;
 "By Courtesy of England, he may do.
 Then, by the rule that made the Horse-tail bare,
 I pluck out year by year, as hair by hair,
 And melt down Ancients like a heap of snow: 65
 While you, to measure merits, look in Stowe,
 And estimating Authors by the year,
 Bestow a Garland only on a Bier.
 Shakespear, (whom you and ev'ry Play-house bill
 Style the divine, the matchless, what you will) 70
 For gain, not glory, wing'd his roving flight,
 And grew Immortal in his own despight.
Ben, old and poor, as little seem'd to heed

Annales in 1580. When Pope wrote they had not been reprinted since the early years of the last century; but an edition of his *Survey of London* (1598) had been published by Strype in 1720.

69. Shakespear and Ben. Johnson may truly be said not much to have thought of this Immortality [Immortal Fame 1737], the one in many pieces composed in haste for the Stage; the other in his Latter works in general, which *Dryden* call'd [calls 1737], his *Dotages* [in *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, Essays*, i 81]. [P. 1737-51].

72. Coleridge corrects Pope's assertion in *Biographia Literaria*, ch. ii, with quotations from Shakespear's 81st and 86th sonnets.

"*Adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema!*

"*Ambigitur quoties, uter utro sit prior; aufert* 55

"*Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius altii:*

"*Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro;*

"*Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi;*

"*Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte.*

"*Hos ediscit, & hos arcto stipata theatro* 60

"*Spectat Roma potens; habet hos numeratque poetas*

"*Ad nostrum tempus, Livii scriptoris ab ævo.*

Interdum vulgus rectum videt: est ubi peccat.

75. After more than forty years of great popularity and respect, Cowley's reputation declined with the turn of the century, when "correctness" of versification and restraint of expression came to be valued, and no further editions of his works were required after 1721. His wit had been adversely criticized by Dryden in the *Preface to the Fables*, and by Addison in *Spectator* 62; Gildon and others had published their disapproval of his epic, the *Davidis*; and the taste for Pindaric imitations was going out. As early as 1728, Oldmixon could write that as a poet Cowley seemed "to have lost almost all his merit in our time." Pope had been an admirer of Cowley in his youth and had frequently "imitated" and echoed him. This passage represents his more considered opinion: "Cowley is a fine poet, in spite of all his faults," he said to Spence (p. 173). Cowley's morality, which Pope also praises in *Ode* iv ix 8 (p. 159), may be found, though not exclusively, in his essays and the accompanying poems, the "language of his Heart" there also and in such a poem as *On the Death of Mr. William Harvey*. See J. Loiseau, *Abraham Cowley's Reputation in England*, Paris, 1931.

77. *Pindaric Art*] which has much more merit than his *Epic*: but very unlike the Character, as well as Numbers, of Pindar [P. 1737-51].

82-3. *Art . . . Nature*] e.g. Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*. cf. *Dunciad* A ii 216.

84. *Beaumont's Judgment*] Frequently mentioned; e.g. Langbaine's *Account of the English Dram. Poets*, 1691, p. 204. "Mr. Fletcher's Wit was equal to Mr. Beaumont's Judgment, and was so luxuriant, that like superfluous Branches, it was frequently pruned by his Judicious Partner."

The Life to come, in ev'ry Poet's Creed.
 Who now reads Cowley? if he pleases yet, 75
 His moral pleases, not his pointed wit;
 Forgot his Epic, nay Pindaric Art,
 But still I love the language of his Heart.

"Yet surely, surely, these were famous men!
 "What Boy but hears the sayings of old Ben? 80
 "In all debates where Criticks bear a part,
 "Not one but nods, and talks of Johnson's Art,
 "Of Shakespear's Nature, and of Cowley's Wit;
 "How Beaumont's Judgment check'd what Fletcher writ;
 "How Shadwell hasty, Wycherly was slow; 85
 "But, for the Passions, Southern sure and Rowe.
 "These, only these, support the crouded stage,
 "From eldest Heywood down to Cibber's age.

All this may be; the People's Voice is odd,

74 in ev'ry] that makes a 1738-43.

85. *Shadwell . . . Wycherly*] Nothing was less true than this particular: But the whole [this 1737] Paragraph has a mixture of Irony, and must not altogether be taken for Horace's own Judgment, only the common Chaff of the pretenders to Criticism; in some things right, in others wrong: as he tells us in his answer,

Interdum vulgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.

[P. 1737-51].

The criticism was made by Rochester in his Imitation of Horace, ll. 41-3:

Of all our Modern Wits, none seem to me
 Once to have touch'd upon true COMEDY,
 But hasty SHADWELL and slow WYCHERLY.

Lansdowne had observed the falseness of the criticism in a *Character of Mr. Wycherley* (1712), and Pope remarked to Spence: "Lord Rochester's character of Wycherley is quite wrong. He was far from being slow in general, and in particular, wrote the *Plain Dealer* in three weeks" (p. 200). For Wycherley's relations with Pope, see vol. i.

86. *Southern . . . Rowe*] The principal followers of Otway in sentimental tragedy. See Biog. App.

88. John Heywood (1497?-1580?) was the author of several interludes, amongst them *The Four P's* and *The Pardoner and the Friar*. See *Dunciad*, A i 96. *Eldest* distinguishes him from the Jacobean dramatist, Thomas Heywood. Pope might have read of them both in Langbaine.

*Si veteres ita miratur laudatque poetas,
 Ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet: errat:* 65
*Si quædam nimis antiquè, si pleraque durè
 Dicere credit eos, ignavè multa; fatetur;
 Et sapit, & mecum facit, & Jove judicat æquo.
 Non equidem insector, delendaque carmina Livii
 Esse reor, memini quæ plagosum, mihi parvo, 70
 Orbilius dictare.—*

*Sed emendata videri
 Pulchraque, & exactis minimum distantia, miror:*

91. *Gammer Gurton*, a piece of very low humour, one of the first printed Plays in English, and therefore much valued by some Antiquaries. [P. 1737-51]. It was reprinted in 1661. Before the discovery of *Ralph Roister Doister* about the year 1818, this was the earliest example of English comedy.

92. *the Careless Husband*] A successful comedy by Cibber, first produced in 1704. In *A Letter to Mr. Pope* (1742), Cibber observes that this couplet appears to contradict ll. 87-8, and continues (p. 52): "The late General *Dormer* intimated to me, that he believ'd Mr. *Pope* intended them as a Compliment to *The Careless Husband*; but if it be a Compliment, I rather believe it was a Compliment to that Gentleman's Good-nature, who told me a little before this Epistle was publish'd, that he had been making Interest for a little Mercy to his Friend *Colley* in it."

97. *Spenser . . . obsolete*] Particularly in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, where he imitates the unequal Measures, as well as the Language, of Chaucer [P. 1737-43]. Pope is quoting from Ben Jonson's *Discoveries* (*Works*, 1641, p. 116): "*Spenser*, in affecting the Ancients writ no Language."

98. *on Roman feet*] Specimens of Sidney's elegiacs and sapphics are found in the *Arcadia*, Book I. His works had been reprinted by Goull and others in 1725.

100. *in prose*] EQ. notes the same opinion in Dryden's preface to *Sylva* (*Essays*, 1708): "Milton's *Paradise Lost* is admirable; but am I therefore bound to maintain, that there are no flats amongst his elevations, when 'tis evident he creeps

It is, and it is not, the voice of God. 90
 To Gammer Gurton if it give the bays,
 And yet deny the Careless Husband praise,
 Or say our fathers never broke a rule;
 Why then I say, the Publick is a fool.
 But let them own, that greater faults than we 95
 They had, and greater Virtues, I'll agree.
 Spenser himself affects the obsolete,
 And Sydney's verse halts ill on Roman feet:
 Milton's strong pinion now not Heav'n can bound,
 Now serpent-like, in prose he sweeps the ground, 100
 In Quibbles, Angel and Archangel join,
 And God the Father turns a School-Divine.
 Not that I'd lop the Beauties from his book,
 Like slashing Bentley with his desp'rate Hook;
 Or damn all Shakespear, like th' affected fool 105
 At Court, who hates whate'er he read at School.
 But for the Wits of either Charles's days,
 The Mob of Gentlemen who wrote with Ease;

along sometimes for above an hundred lines together?"

101. *Quibbles*] e.g. *Par. Lost*, vi 609-28.

102. *School-Divine*] e.g. *ibid.* iii 80-134.

104. *Like slashing Bentley*] cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 164. Bentley's eccentric edition of *Paradise Lost* was published in 1732.

Hook] In a note to *Dunciad*, B iv 194, Pope, mimicking Bentley, uses the word to designate the square brackets within which Bentley enclosed passages which he considered to be spurious. Warburton believed that Pope was referring to this practice here, though the metaphor from hedging is also apparent.

106. Pope refers to a passage in Hervey's *Epistle from a Nobleman to a Doctor of Divinity*, published without permission in 1733:

. . . That all I learn'd from *Doctor Freind* at School,
 By *Gradus*, *Lexicon*, or Grammar-Rule . . .
 Has quite deserted this poor *John-Trot* Head,
 And left plain native *English* in its stead.

108. cf. Young's *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope*, 1730, p. 40:

Write *not* like *Gentlemen*, with ease exceeding;
 Such easy writing is not easy reading.

Pope writes to Cromwell, of Crashaw, Dec. 17, 1710, "I take this poet to have writ like a gentleman, that is, at leisure hours, and more to keep out of idleness

*Inter quæ verbum emicuit si forte decorum, &
 Si versus paulo concinnior unus & alter;
 Injuste totum ducit venditque poema.* 75

*Indignor quidquam reprehendi, non quia crasse
 Compositum ille p̄deve putetur, sed quia nuper;
 Nec veniam antiquis, sed honorem & præmia posci.*

*Recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Attæ
 Fabula, si dubitem; clamant periisse pudorem* 80
*Cuncti p̄ne patres, ea cum reprehendere coner,
 Quæ gravis Æsopus, quæ doctus Roscius egit.
 Vel quia nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi, ducunt;
 Vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus, & quæ
 Imberbes didicere, senes perdenda fateri.* 85

than to establish a reputation, so that nothing regular or just can be expected from him."

109. *Sprat*] Thomas Sprat (1635-1713); Bishop of Rochester, 1684. As a poet, he was a follower of Cowley—"a worse Cowley," Pope thought him (Spence, p. 173), but recognized his pre-eminence in prose (*ibid.* p. 310). He is still remembered for his *History of the Royal Society* (1667).

Carew] Thomas Carew (1595?-1639?). A lyric poet whose work sometimes resembles Jonson's and sometimes Donne's. A number of his poems were reprinted in the fifth part of Dryden's *Miscellanies*. Pope once called him "a bad Waller" (Spence, p. 21).

Sedley] Sir Charles Sedley (1639-1701), a lyric poet of the Restoration Court circle. Pope rated him lower than modern critics would agree to; "Sedley is a very insipid writer," he told Spence, "except in some few of his little love-verses" (p. 136).

113. "There are Amplifiers who can extend half a dozen thin thoughts over a whole Folio" (Pope's *Pari Bathous*, ch. viii).

120. In the preface to his edition of Shakespeare (1725) Pope detected cer-

Sprat, Carew, Sedley, and a hundred more,
(Like twinkling Stars the Miscellanies o'er) 110

One Simile, that solitary shines
In the dry Desert of a thousand lines,
Or lengthen'd Thought that gleams thro' many a page,
Has sanctify'd whole Poems for an age.

I lose my patience, and I own it too, 115
When works are censur'd, not as bad, but new;
While if our Elders break all Reason's laws,
These fools demand not Pardon, but Applause.

On Avon's bank, where flow'rs eternal blow,
If I but ask, if any weed can grow? 120

One Tragic sentence if I dare deride
Which Betterton's grave Action dignify'd,
Or well-mouth'd Booth with emphasis proclaims,
(Tho' but, perhaps, a muster-roll of Names)
How will our Fathers rise up in a rage, 125

And swear, all shame is lost in George's Age!
You'd think no Fools disgrac'd the former Reign,
Did not some grave Examples yet remain,
Who scorn a Lad should teach his Father skill,

tain weeds, such as "exaggerated Thoughts," "bombast Expression," "pompous Rhymes," and "mean buffoonry," and accounted for them by observing that Shakespeare had to hit the taste of his audience. Many of these weeds are rooted out in Pope's text. See J. Butt, *Pope's Taste in Shakespeare*, 1936.

123. *with emphasis*] Chetwood (*Gen. Hist. Stage*, 1749, p. 94) quotes Aaron Hill's account of Booth's art: "He could soften, or slide over, with a kind of elegant Negligence, the Improprieties in a Part he acted; while, on the contrary, he would dwell with Energy upon the Beauties, as if he exerted a latent Spirit, which had been kept back for such an Occasion, that he might alarm, waken, and transport, in those Places only, where the Dignity of his own good Sense could be supported with that of his Author."

124. An absurd Custom of several Actors, to pronounce with Emphasis the meer *Proper Names* of Greeks or Romans, which (as they call it) *fill the mouth* of the Player [P. 1737-51].

127. "Some old men by continually praising the time of their youth, would almost persuade us that there were no fools in those days; but unluckily they are left themselves for examples." *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, EC x 553.

*Jam Saliare Numæ carmen qui laudat, & illud,
 Quod mecum ignorat, solus vult se in cideri;
 Ingeniis non ille favet, plauditque sepultis,
 Nostra sed impugnat, nos, nostraque lividus odit.*

*Quod si tam Græcis novitas inula fuisset, 90
 Quam nobis; quid nunc esset vetus? aut quid haberet,
 Quod legeret, tereretque inritum publicus usus?*

*Ut primum positis nugari Græcia bellis
 Capit, & in Vitium fortuna labier æqua;
 Nunc Athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum; 95
 Marmoris, aut eboris fabros, aut æris amavit;
 Suspendit picta vultum mentemque tabella;
 Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisæ tragædis:*

131-4. The same thought is found in Dryden's dedicatory epistle to *Examens Poeticum* (*Essays*, ii 4): "We have two sorts of those gentlemen in our nation; some of them, proceeding with a seeming moderation and pretence of respect to the dramatic writers of the last age, only scorn and vilify the present poets, to set up their predecessors." Dryden proceeds to quote two lines from the passage which Pope is here imitating.

132. *Merlin's Prophecy*] Translated from the Welsh by Geoffrey of Monmouth and embodied in his *Historia Regum Britannie* (Book vii), an English translation of which was made by Aaron Thompson (1718). But Merlin's reputation as a prophet at this time was owing to John Partridge (d. 1715), whose almanacs, entitled *Merlinus Liberatus*, were still published every year. Merlin's Cave (see l. 355), completed in 1735, also served to keep his memory alive. Curll published a descriptive pamphlet entitled *The Rarities of Richmond* (1736), which contained four of Merlin's prophecies with interpretations; and *The Craftsman* (No. 480) made political capital out of a prophecy said to have been heard there.

139 ff. This passage is paralleled in *E. on C.* ll. 534-59.

142. *A Verse of the Lord Lansdown* [P. 1797-51]. From *The Progress of Beauty* (*Genuine Works*, 1732, i 78):

AlE, by the King's Example, live and love.

And, having once been wrong, will be so still. 130
 He, who to seem more deep than you or I,
 Extols old Bards, or Merlin's Prophecy,
 Mistake him not; he envies, not admires,
 And to debase the Sons, exalts the Sires.
 Had ancient Times conspir'd to dis-allow 135
 What then was new, what had been ancient now?
 Or what remain'd, so worthy to be read
 By learned Criticks, of the mighty Dead?
 In Days of Ease, when now the weary Sword
 Was sheath'd, and *Luxury* with *Charles* restor'd; 140
 In every Taste of foreign Courts improv'd,
 "All, by the King's Example, liv'd and lov'd."
 Then Peers grew proud in Horsemanship t' excell,
 New-market's Glory rose, as Britain's fell;
 The Soldier breath'd the Gallantries of France, 145
 And ev'ry flow'ry Courtier writ Romance.
 Then Marble soften'd into life grew warm,
 And yielding Metal flow'd to human form:
 Lely on animated Canvas stole

143. *Horsemanship . . . Romance*] The Duke of Newcastle's Book of Horsemanship: the Romance of *Parthenissa*, by the Earl of Orrery, and most of the [all the 1737] French Romances translated by *Persons of Quality* [P. 1737-51].

The Duke of Newcastle wrote two books on Horsemanship, *Methode et Invention Nouvelle de Dresser les Chevaux* (Antwerp, 1658) and *A New Method and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses* (1667). The first part of *Parthenissa* in 6 vols was published in 1654. It is stated on the title pages of two of Gabriel de Bremond's novels that the translation was done by "a Person of Quality"—*The Happy Slave* (1677) and *The Triumph of Love over Fortune* (1678).

144. *New-market*] Racing at Newmarket dates from the time of James I. Its fame greatly increased under the patronage of Charles II.

147-8. Notably in the hands of Caius Gabriel Cibber (1630-1700), Colley's father, and Grinling Gibbons (1648-1720).

149. Sir Peter Lely (1618-80) was a Dutchman by birth. He came to England in 1641 in the train of the Prince of Orange and established a reputation as a portrait-painter, but his greatest fame and prosperity was gained after the Restoration. The phrase "animated canvas" echoes *Temple of Fame*, 73:

Heroes in animated marble frown.

*Sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,
Quod cupide petiit, mature plena reliquit.* 100
*Quid placet, aut odio est, quod non mutabile credas?
Hoc Paces habuere bonæ, ventique secundi.*

*Romæ dulce diu fuit & solenne, reclusa
Mane domo vigilare, clienti promere jura,
Cautos nominibus certis expendere nummos,* 105
*Majores audire, minori dicere, per quæ
Crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido.*

*Mutavit mentem populus levis, & calet uno
Scribendi studio; pueri, patresque severi
Fronde comas vincti cenant, & carmina dictant.* 110

*Ipse ego, qui nullos me affirmo scribere versus,
Invenior Parthis mendacior, & prius orto
Sole, vigil calamum, & chartas, & scrinia posco.*

153. The Siege of Rhodes [1656] by Sir William Davenant, the first Opera sung in England [P. 1737-51].

160. Wakefield compares Prior's *Letter to Monsieur Boileau Despreaux* (1704):
... That, tho' amongst our selves, with too much Heat,

The sleepy Eye, that spoke the melting soul. 150
 No wonder then, when all was Love and Sport,
 The willing Muses were debauch'd at Court;
 On each enervate string they taught the Note
 To pant, or tremble thro' an Eunuch's throat.
 But Britain, changeful as a Child at play, 155
 Now calls in Princes, and now turns away.
 Now Whig, now Tory, what we lov'd we hate;
 Now all for Pleasure, now for Church and State;
 Now for Prerogative, and now for Laws;
 Effects unhappy! from a Noble Cause. 160
 Time was, a sober Englishman wou'd knock
 His servants up, and rise by five a clock,
 Instruct his Family in ev'ry rule,
 And send his Wife to Church, his Son to school.
 To worship like his Fathers was his care; 165
 To teach their frugal Virtues to his Heir;
 To prove, that Luxury could never hold;
 And place, on good Security, his Gold.
 Now Times are chang'd, and one Poetick Itch
 Has seiz'd the Court and City, Poor and Rich: 170
 Sons, Sires, and Grandsires, all will wear the Bays,
 Our Wives read Milton, and our Daughters Plays,
 To Theatres, and to Rehearsals throng,
 And all our Grace at Table is a Song.
 I, who so oft renounce the Muses, lye, 175
 Not —'s self e'er tells more *Fibs* than I;
 When, sick of Muse, our follies we deplore,
 And promise our best Friends to ryme no more;
 We wake next morning in a raging Fit,

173 To . . . throng] To Op'ra's, Theatres, Rehearsals throng 173⁸-43.

We sometimes wrangle, when We should debate;
 (A consequential Ill which Freedom draws;
 A bad Effect, but from a Noble Cause) . . .

Navem agere ignarus navis timet: abrotonum ægro 114
Non audet, nisi qui didicit, dare: quod medicorum est,
Promittunt Medici; tractant fabrilis fabri:
Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.

Hic error tamen & levis hæc insania, quantas
Virtutes habeat, sic collige; Vatis avarus 120
Non temere est animus: versus amat, hoc studet unum;
Detrimenda, fugas servorum, incendia ridet;
Non fraudem Socio, puerove incogitat ullam
Pupillo: Vivit siliquis, & pane secundo.

Militæ quanquam piger & malus, utilis urbi, 125
Si das hoc, parvis quoque rebus magna juvari,
Os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat:

182. *Ward*] A famous Empirick, whose Pill and Drop had several surprizing effects, and were one of the principal subjects of Writing and Conversation at this time [P. 1737-51]. See Biog. App.

183. *Radcliff*] See Biog. App.

195. *Flight of Cashiers*] Robert Knight, cashier of the South Sea Company, fled to France on Jan. 22, 1721-2, after being found guilty of notorious breach of trust by the House of Lords. His son told Lord Egmont in 1742 (*Diary*, iii 269) that Knight had fled to save the reputation of the then ministry who promised he should be speedily recalled.

197. *Peter*] i.e. Peter Walter. See Biog. App. Bowles states that the friend was George Pitt of Shroton, Dorset, who lived abroad and paid Walter £400 p.a.

And call for Pen and Ink to show our Wit. 180

He serv'd a 'Prentice ship, who sets up shop;
Ward try'd on Puppies, and the Poor, his Drop;
Ev'n Radcliff's Doctors travel first to France,
Nor dare to practise till they've learn'd to dance.

Who builds a Bridge that never drove a pyle? 185

(Should Ripley venture, all the World would smile)

But those who cannot write, and those who can,
All ryme, and scrawl, and scribble, to a man.

Yet Sir, reflect, the mischief is not great;
These Madmen never hurt the Church or State: 190

Sometimes the Folly benefits mankind;

And rarely Av'rice taints the tuneful mind.

Allow him but his Play-thing of a Pen,

He ne'er rebels, or plots, like other men:

Flight of Cashiers, or Mobs, he'll never mind; 195

And knows no losses while the Muse is kind.

To cheat a Friend, or Ward, he leaves to Peter;

The good man heaps up nothing but mere metre,

Enjoys his Garden and his Book in quiet;

And then—a perfect Hermit in his Diet. 200

Oflittle use the Man you may suppose,

Who says in verse what others say in prose;

Yet let me show, a Poet's of some weight,

And (tho' no Soldier) useful to the State.

195 Mobs] Fires 1737.

for managing his estates. Walter went down to Dorset once a year, but charged £800 for extra services. This was contested in Chancery.

204. Horace had not acquitted himself much to his credit in this capacity; (*non bene relicta formula*, [Od. ii vii 10]) in the battle of Philippi. It is manifest he alludes to himself in this whole account of a Poet's character; but with an intermixture of Irony: *Vivit siliquis & pane secundo* has a relation to his Epicurism; *Os tenerum pueri*, is ridicule: The nobler office of a Poet follows, *Torquet ab obscuris—Mox etiam pectus—Rectè facta refert*, &c. which the Imitator has apply'd where he thinks it more due than to himself. He hopes to be pardoned, if, as he is sincerely inclined to praise what deserves to be praised, he arraigns what deserves to be arraigned, in the 210, 211, and 212th Verses [P. 1737-51].

*Torquet ab obscænis jam nunc sermonibus aurem;
 Mox etiam pectus præceptis format amicis,
 Asperitatis, & invidiæ corrector, & iræ.
 Recte facta refert; orientia tempora notis* 130
Instruit exemplis: inopem solatur, & ægrum.

212. *lewd*] not unjustly applied to George II's court.

un-believing] The queen was believed to be a "freethinker."

214. *Roscommon*] Wentworth Dillon, fourth Earl of Roscommon (1633?-1685), whose *Essay on Translated Verse* was published in 1684. He is commended in *E. on C. II.* 725-6.

215. *Courtly stains*] Warburton reports that Pope had Addison's *To Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, With the Tragedy of Cato Nov. 1714* in mind. Cibber, no doubt thinking of this passage, remarks in his *Apology* (ch. ii), "When I read those mortifying Lines of our most eminent Author, in his Character of *Atticus* . . . though I am charm'd with the Poetry, my Imagination is hurt at the Severity of it; and tho' I allow the Satyrists to have had personal Provocation, yet, methinks, for that very Reason, he ought not to have troubled the Publick with it . . . But the Pain which the Acrimony of these Verses gave me, is, in some measure, allay'd, in finding that this inimitable Writer, as he advanced in Years, has since had Candour enough to celebrate the same Person for his visible Merit."

221-8. On Dec. 2, 1736, Swift wrote to Pope, asking incidentally if he could "hope for more Epistles of morality," and added, "I assure you, my acquaintance

What will a Child learn sooner than a song? 205
 What better teach a Foreigner the tongue?
 What's long or short, each accent where to place,
 And speak in publick with some sort of grace.
 I scarce can think him such a worthless thing,
 Unless he praise some monster of a King, 210
 Or Virtue, or Religion turn to sport,
 To please a lewd, or un-believing Court.
 Unhappy Dryden!—In all Charles's days,
 Roscommon only boasts unspotted Bays;
 And in our own (excuse some Courtly stains) 215
 No whiter page than Addison remains.
 He, from the taste obscene reclaims our Youth,
 And sets the Passions on the side of Truth;
 Forms the soft bosom with the gentlest art,
 And pours each human Virtue in the heart. 220
 Let Ireland tell, how Wit upheld her cause,
 Her Trade supported, and supply'd her Laws;
 And leave on SWIFT this grateful verse ingrav'd,

215 stains] strains 1737.

resent that they have not seen my name at the head of one." In his reply, dated Dec. 30, Pope took no notice of this inquiry. He may, however, have enclosed a transcript of ll. 221–8 and ll. 72ff. of *Ep. II ii* without comment—a passage in the letter on the loss of friends is in tune with *singula de nobis*—or more probably, they were sent with a letter which no longer survives. Swift replied on Feb. 9, 1736–7 that these lines would do him "the greatest honour I shall ever receive from posterity, and will outweigh the malignity of ten thousand enemies." (The letter is misdated and misplaced in *Letters*, 1741, and EC). He received his copy of the poem in May and reported Dublin opinion of it to Pope on May 31. A month later he heard from Alderman Barber that these lines had given great offence: Barber added "I am assured, [it] was under debate in the Council, whether he [Pope] should not be taken up for it, but it [the opposition to Wood's Halfpence] happening to be done in the late King's time, they passed it by" (Swift *Corr.* ed. Ball, vi 25).

222. *Trade supported*] He refers to Swift's *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* (1720).

supply'd] i.e. made up for the deficiencies of her laws.

*Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
Disceret unde preces, vatem ni Musa dedisset?
Poscit opem Chorus, & præsentia numina sentit;
Cælestes implorat aquas docta prece blandus; 135
Avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit;
Impetrat & Pacem, & locupletem frugibus annum:
Carmina Dî superi placantur, carmine Manes.*

*Agricolæ prisci, fortes, parvoque beati,
Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo 140
Corpus, & ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum, & pueris & conjuge fida,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus & vino Genium memorem brevis ævi.*

226. *the Idiot and the Poor*] A Foundation for the maintenance of Idiots, and a Fund for assisting the Poor, by lending small sums of Money on demand [P. 1737-51].

Swift had referred to his intention of founding a hospital in the verses on his death. He left over £10,000 for this purpose, and the hospital was opened in 1737. Pope also refers to the subject in a letter which may be dated Sept. 1735 (EC vii 337).

230. The famous metrical version of the Psalms was initiated by Sternhold, who published nineteen psalms in 1549 and finished eighteen more before his death. The work was completed by Hopkins and others in 1562. The version still enjoyed a great reputation in the eighteenth century in spite of the more

The Rights a Court attack'd, a Poet sav'd.
 Behold the hand that wrought a Nation's cure, 225
 Stretch'd to relieve the Idiot and the Poor,
 Proud Vice to brand, or injur'd Worth adorn,
 And stretch the Ray to Ages yet unborn.
 Not but there are, who merit other palms;
 Hopkins and Sternhold glad the heart with Psalms; 230
 The Boys and Girls whom Charity maintains,
 Implore your help in these pathetic strains:
 How could Devotion touch the country pews,
 Unless the Gods bestow'd a proper Muse?
 Verse cheers their leisure, Verse assists their work, 235
 Verse prays for Peace, or sings down Pope and Turk.
 The silenc'd Preacher yields to potent strain,
 And feels that grace his pray'r besought in vain,
 The blessing thrills thro' all the lab'ring throng,
 And Heav'n is won by violence of Song. 240
 Our rural Ancestors, with little blest,
 Patient of labour when the end was rest,
 Indulg'd the day that hous'd their annual grain,
 With feasts, and off'rings, and a thankful strain:
 The joy their wives, their sons, and servants share, 245
 Ease of their toil, and part'ners of their care:
 The laugh, the jest, attendants on the bowl,

227 brand] lash *TPQ*. 234 a proper] the proper *1737b*.

recent version by Tate and Brady (1696).

236. *sings . . . Turk*] "My name is as bad an one as yours, and hated by all bad poets, from Hopkins and Sternhold to Gildon and Cibber. The first prayed against me joined with the Turk . . ." (Pope to Swift, Oct. 15, 1725). The allusion is to a line in the prayer at the end of the metrical psalms:

From Pope and Turk defend us, Lord

[Croker].

241*ff*. Pope is not well served by the need to imitate Horace at this point. Latin satire was of native growth; the satire of Hall and the later Elizabethans was inspired by literary models.

Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem 145
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit;
Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
Lusit amabiliter: donec jam sævus apertam
In rabiem verti cæpit jocus, & per honestas
Ire domos impune minax. Doluere cruento 150
Dente lacesiti: fuit intactis quoque cura
Conditione super communi: quin etiam lex
Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam
Describi. Vertere modum, formidine fustis
Ad benedicendum, delectandumque redacti. 155

Græcia capta, ferum victorem cepit, & Artes
Intulit agresti Latio, sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius, & grave virus
Munditiæ pepulere: sed in longum tamen ævum
Manserunt, hodieque manent, vestigia ruris. 160
Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis;
Et post Punica bella quietus, quærere cæpit,

257. *statutes*] See *Sat.* II i 145*n*.

263. Greek literature was adopted and imitated by the Romans quite independently of the subjugation of Greece. If we allow "*Græcia capta victorem cepit*" as a rhetorical contrast, not as cause and effect, we may allow Pope's transfusion [Pattison].

267. Mr Waller about this time [1664], with the E. of Dorset, Mr. Godolphin, and others, translated the Pompey of Corneille; and the more correct French Poets began to be in reputation [P. 1737-51].

The multiple authorship is referred to in *The Session of the Poets, to the Tune of Cook Laurel*, vv. 29-31 (*Poems on Affairs of State*, 1703, i 209-10):

B[u]ckhur[st] and Sy[d]ley, with two or three more
Translators of Pompey, dispute in their claim;
But Apollo made them be turn'd out of door,
And bid them be gone like Fools as they came.

Smooth'd ev'ry brow, and open'd ev'ry soul:
 With growing years the pleasing Licence grew,
 And Taunts alternate innocently flew. 250
 But Times corrupt, and Nature, ill-inclin'd,
 Produc'd the point that left a sting behind;
 Till friend with friend, and families at strife,
 Triumphant Malice rag'd thro' private life.
 Who felt the wrong, or fear'd it, took th' alarm, 255
 Appeal'd to Law, and Justice lent her arm.
 At length, by wholesom dread of statutes bound,
 The Poets learn'd to please, and not to wound:
 Most warp'd to Flatt'ry's side; but some, more nice,
 Preserv'd the freedom, and forbore the vice. 260
 Hence Satire rose, that just the medium hit,
 And heals with Morals what it hurts with Wit.
 We conquer'd France, but felt our captive's charms;
 Her Arts victorious triumph'd o'er our Arms:
 Britain to soft refinements less a foe, 265
 Wit grew polite, and Numbers learn'd to flow.
 Waller was smooth; but Dryden taught to join
 The varying verse, the full resounding line,
 The long majestic march, and energy divine. }

Old *Waller* heard this, and was sneaking away,

But somebody spy'd him out of the Crowd;

Apollo tho h' had not seen him many a day,

Knew him full well, and call'd to him aloud;

My old Friend Mr. *Waller*, what make you there,

Among those young Fellows that spoil the *French Plays*?

Then beck'ning to him, whisper'd in his Ear,

And gave him good Counsel instead of the Bays.

Act I is ascribed to Waller by Fenton on the evidence of a letter from Katherine Philips to Sir Charles Cotterel.

"The triplet with the last line an alexandrine is introduced more frequently by Dryden than by any other great master of the heroic couplet, and Pope uses it here to illustrate the qualities he mentions" [Dyson].

268. Pope has Dryden's pindaric odes in mind.

*Quid Sophocles, & Thespis, & Æschylus utile ferrent:
Tentavit quoque rem si digne vertere posset;
Et placuit sibi, natura sublimis, & acer: 165
Nam spirat tragicum satis, & feliciter audet:
Sed turpem putat in scriptis, metuitque lituram.*

*Creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere
Sudoris minimum; sed habet comœdia tanto
Plus oneris, quanto veniæ minus. Adspice Plautus 170
Quo pacto partes tutetur amantis ephebi,
Ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosus?
Quantus sit Dorsennus edacibus in parasitis!
Quam non astricto percurrat pulpita socco!
Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc 175
Securus, cadat, an recto stet fabula talo.*

278. Thomas Otway (1652-1685), tragic dramatist; author of *The Orphan*, 1680, and *Venice Preserved*, 1682. EC quotes from Dryden's *Parellel of Poetry and Painting* (ed. Ker, ii 145): "I will not defend everything in his *Venice Preserved*; but I must bear this testimony to his memory, that the passions are truly touched in it, though perhaps there is somewhat to be desired, both in the grounds of them, and in the height and elegance of expression; but nature is there, which is the greatest beauty."

280. cf. Jonson's *Discoveries* (*Workes*, 1641, p. 97): "*I remember*, the Players have often mentioned it as an honour to *Shakespeare*, that in his writing, (whatsoever he penn'd) hee never blotted out line. My answer hath beene, would he had blotted a thousand."

280-1. Pope told Spence (p. 281), "I learned versification wholly from Dryden's works; who had improved it much beyond any of our former poets; and would, probably, have brought it to its perfection, had not he been unhappily obliged to write so often in haste."

287. *Congress's Fools*] Pope probably refers to Brisk, the "pert Coxcomb" in *The Double Dealer*, and more particularly to Witwoud, whose character Con-

Tho' still some traces of our rustic vein	270
And splay-foot verse, remain'd, and will remain.	
Late, very late, correctness grew our care,	
When the tir'd nation breath'd from civil war.	
Exact Racine, and Corneille's noble fire	
Show'd us that France had something to admire.	275
Not but the Tragic spirit was our own,	
And full in Shakespear, fair in Otway shone:	
But Otway fail'd to polish or refine,	
And fluent Shakespear scarce effac'd a line.	
Ev'n copious Dryden, wanted, or forgot,	280
The last and greatest Art, the Art to blot.	
Some doubt, if equal pains or equal fire	
The humbler Muse of Comedy require?	
But in known Images of life I guess	
The labour greater, as th' Indulgence less.	285
Observe how seldom ev'n the best succeed:	
Tell me if Congreve's Fools are Fools indeed?	
What pert low Dialogue has Farqu'ar writ!	
How Van wants grace, who never wanted wit!	
The stage how loosely does Astræa tread,	290

grave mentions in the epistle dedicatory to *The Way of the World*, as intended for an unusual type of fool, who "should appear ridiculous, not so much through a natural folly . . . as through an affected wit." The criticism was not peculiar to Pope. Gerard writes: "The usage of an admired genius will procure approbation even to faults, from one whose taste is languid . . . one may be too much pleased with Congreve's wit, to remark its incongruity to the characters to which it is ascribed" (*Essay on Taste*, 1764, p. 133).

288. *Farqu'ar*] George Farquhar (1677-1707), author of *The Beaux Stratagem* (1707) and other comedies.

289. *Van*] Sir John Vanbrugh, the comic dramatist. See Biog. App.

290. *Astræa*] [A Name taken by 1738-51] Afra Behn, [Mrs. Behn, 1738-51] Authoress of several obscene Plays, &c. [P. 1737-51].

B. 1640, d. 1689. "The second line is as quick as the first is slow—before we know where we are in a play of Mrs. Behn, couples right and left are retiring to privacy with a haste which is as indecent as the collapsing tumble of the line is headlong" (Tillotson, *On the Poetry of Pope*, 1938, p. 92).

*Quem tulit ad scenam ventoso gloria curru,
 Exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat:
 Sic leve, sic parvum est, animum quod laudis avarum
 Subruit, aut reficit: valeat res ludicra! si me* 180
Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.

*Sæpe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poetam;
 Quod numero plures, virtute & honore minores,
 Indocti, stolidique, & depugnare parati*
Si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt 185
Aut ursum aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet.
Verum Equitis quoque jam migravit ab aure voluptas
Omnis, ad incertos oculos, & gaudia vana.
Quatuor aut plures aulæ premuntur in horas;
Dum fugiunt equitum turmæ, peditumque catervæ: 190
Mox trahitur manibus Regum fortuna retortis;

310 What . . . affords!] For Farce the people true delight affords,
 1737.

293. In comparing the comic actors, Bullock and Penkethman, *The Tatler* (No. 188) observes: "Penkethman devours a cold Chick with great Applause; Bullock's Talent lies chiefly in Sparagrass." Pattison states that it was in the character of Don Lewis in Cibber's *Love Makes a Man* (Act iv) that Penkethman ate two chickens in three seconds. The play was first performed in 1700 and frequently revived, once for Penkethman's benefit in 1702 (A. Nicoll, *Hist. of Early Eighteenth-century Drama*, 1929, pp. 37, 307). See further Biog. App., Penkethman.

309. *Black-joke*] *The Coal Black Joke* was a popular air. Various songs were set to it, some of them indecent; it is no doubt one of these which a ballad-singer is holding in plate 3 of Hogarth's *Rake's Progress*. A polite version was sung in an opera entitled *The Beggar's Wedding* (1729), and was reprinted in *The Musical*

Who fairly puts all Characters to bed:
 And idle Cibber, how he breaks the laws,
 To make poor Pinky eat with vast applause!
 But fill their purse, our Poet's work is done,
 Alike to them, by Pathos or by Pun. 295

O you! whom Vanity's light bark conveys
 On Fame's mad voyage by the wind of Praise;
 With what a shifting gale your course you ply;
 For ever sunk too low, or born too high!
 Who pants for glory finds but short repose, 300
 A breath revives him, or a breath o'erthrows!
 Farewel the stage! if just as thrives the Play,
 The silly bard grows fat, or falls away.

There still remains to mortify a Wit,
 The many-headed Monster of the Pit: 305
 A sense-less, worth-less, and unhonour'd crowd;
 Who to disturb their betters mighty proud,
 Clatt'ring their sticks, before ten lines are spoke,
 Call for the Farce, the Bear, or the Black-joke.
 What dear delight to Britons Farce affords! 310
 Ever the taste of Mobs, but now of Lords;
 (Taste, that eternal wanderer, which flies
 From heads to ears, and now from ears to eyes.)

311 Ever] Farce, long 1737: Farce once 1738-43.

312 Taste, that] For Taste, 1738-43. which] now 1738-43.

Miscellany (1730) and *The Vocal Miscellany* (1738). See also *Brit. Mus. Music Cat.* The air retained its popularity for over a hundred years (OED, *sub* joke), and was once performed in Plymouth in circumstances resembling those which Pope describes. Kemble was playing *Hamlet*. In III 3, where Hamlet begs Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to play upon the pipe which he offers to them, the actor who played Guildenstern, instead of protesting that he had not the skill, exclaimed, "Since you seem so much to wish it, I'll do my best to oblige you," and taking up the pipe, played the Black Joke (*Athenæum*, Aug. 11, 1877, p. 167).

313. From *Plays* to *Operas*, and from *Operas* to *Pantomimes* [Warburton]. For opera, see *Dunciad*, iv 45-60; for pantomime, see Biog. App., John Rich.

*Esseda festinant, pilenta, pertorrita, naves,
Captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.*

*Si forret in terris, rideret Democritus; seu
Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo, 195
Sive elephas albus vulgi converteret ora:
Spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis,
Ut sibi præbentem mimo spectacula plura:
Scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
Fabellam surdo. —*

*— Nam quæ pervincere voces 200
Evalvere sonum referunt quem nostra theatra?
Garganum mugire putes nemus, aut mare Tuscum;
Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur, & artes,
Divitiæque peregrinæ, quibus oblitus actor
Cum stetit in scena, concurrit dextera lævæ. 205
“Dixit adhuc aliquid?” Nil sane. Quid placet ergo?
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.*

315. *scenes*] The flats which met in the centre to form a painted scene, and were drawn apart to reveal the inner stage.

319. The Coronation of Henry the Eighth and Queen Anne Boleyn, in which the Playhouses vied with each other to represent all the pomp of a Coronation. In this noble contention, the Armour of one of the Kings of England was borrowed from the Tower, to dress the Champion [P. 1737-51].

George II was crowned on Oct. 11, 1727. On Oct. 26, Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* was performed at Drury Lane with Booth as Henry, Cibber as Wolsey, Wilks as Buckingham, and Mrs Porter as Queen Catherine. Special attention was paid to the coronation of Anne Boleyn, which alone cost the managers £1,000. So popular was this spectacle that when Booth grew tired of acting his part after some twenty performances, it was decided to retain it and add it to every other play performed. This continued for about forty nights. The theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields provided a "mock coronation," but it did not please. See *Garnett, Account of Eng. Stage*, 1832, iii 197-209.

328. *Orcas*] The farthest Northern Promontory of Scotland, opposite to the

The Play stands still; damn action and discourse, Back fly the scenes, and enter foot and horse;	315
Pageants on pageants, in long order drawn, Peers, Heralds, Bishops, Ermin, Gold, and Lawn; The Champion too! and, to complete the jest, Old Edward's Armour beams on Cibber's breast! With laughter sure Democritus had dy'd,	320
Had he beheld an Audience gape so wide. Let Bear or Elephant be e'er so white, The people, sure, the people are the sight! Ah luckless Poet! stretch thy lungs and roar, That Bear or Elephant shall heed thee more;	325
While all its throats the Gallery extends, And all the Thunder of the Pit ascends! Loud as the Wolves on Orcas' stormy steep, Howl to the roarings of the Northern deep. Such is the shout, the long-applauding note,	330
At Quin's high plume, or Oldfield's petticoat, Or when from Court a birth-day suit bestow'd Sinks the lost Actor in the tawdry load. Booth enters—hark! the Universal Peal! "But has he spoken?" Not a syllable.	335

Orcades [P. 1737-51].

331. *Quin's high plume*] Addison remarks (*Spect.* 42) that "the ordinary method of making an Hero, is to clap a huge Plume of feathers upon his head, which rises so very high, that there is often a greater length from his chin to the top of his head, than to the sole of his foot . . . This very much embarrasses the Actor, who is forced to hold his neck extremely stiff and steady all the while he speaks." Quin is represented wearing such a plume while playing Coriolanus in a contemporary engraving reproduced in Doran's *Annals of the Stage*, 1888, ii 160.

Oldfield's petticoat] "A Princess generally receives her grandeur from . . . the broad sweeping train that follows her in all her motions, and finds constant employment for a boy who stands behind her to open and spread it to advantage" (Addison, *op. cit.*).

332. *birth-day suit*] one of the magnificent suits worn at royal birthday celebrations. Pope mentions them in *Ep.* i vi 33, and *Rape*, B i 23. See also *Donne*, iv 218-25.

*Ac ne forte putes, me, quæ facere ipse recusem,
 Cum recte tractent alii, laudare maligne;
 Ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur 210
 Ire Poeta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
 Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
 Ut magnus, & modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.*

*Verum age, & his, qui se lectori credere malunt,
 Quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi, 215
 Curam redde brevem; si munus Apolline dignum
 Vis complere libris, & vatibus addere calcar,
 Ut studio majore petant Helicon virentem.*

*Multa quidem nobis facimus mala sæpe poetæ,
 (Ut vineta egomet cædam mea) cum tibi librum 220
 Sollicito damus aut fesso: cum lædimur, unum
 Si quis amicorum est ausus reprehendere versum:
 Cum loca iam recitata revolvimus irrevocati:*

337. See Addison's *Cato* (1713) v i, where the initial stage direction reads "Cato solus, sitting in a thoughtful posture . . ."

354; Latin, 217. *Munus Apolline dignum*] The Palatine Library then building by Augustus [P. 1737-51].

355. *Merlin's Cave*] A Building in the Royal Gardens of Richmond, where is a small, but choice Collection of Books [P. 1737-51].

The *Gent. Mag.* announced in June 1735 that "A subterraneous Building is by her Majesty's Order carrying on in the Royal Gardens at Richmond, which is to be called *Merlin's Cave*, adorned with Astronomical Figures and Characters" (vol. v, p. 331). "The building . . . was designed by Kent, & was by no means a cave but a thatched House with small gothic windows, & furnished with book-cases. At one end were Six waxen figures large as life: Merlin & his Secretary

"What shook the stage, and made the people stare?"
 Cato's long Wig, flowr'd gown, and lacquer'd chair.
 Yet lest you think I railly more than teach,
 Or praise malignly Arts I cannot reach,
 Let me for once presume t'instruct the times, 340
 To know the Poet from the Man of Rymes:
 'Tis He, who gives my breast a thousand pains,
 Can make me feel each Passion that he feigns,
 Inrage, compose, with more than magic Art,
 With Pity, and with Terror, tear my heart; 345
 And snatch me, o'er the earth, or thro' the air,
 To Thebes, to Athens, when he will, and where.
 But not this part of the poetic state
 Alone, deserves the favour of the Great:
 Think of those Authors, Sir, who would rely 350
 More on a Reader's sense, than Gazer's eye.
 Or who shall wander where the Muses sing?
 Who climb their Mountain, or who taste their spring?
 How shall we fill a Library with Wit,
 When Merlin's Cave is half unfurnish'd yet? 355
 My Liege! why Writers little claim your thought,
 I guess; and, with their leave, will tell the fault:
 We Poets are (upon a Poet's word)
 Of all mankind, the creatures most absurd:
 The season, when to come, and when to go, 360

writing at a table, & Two female personages . . . representing the Queen of Henry 7th, Queen Elizabeth, & two Characters out of Ariosto, who celebrated the House of Este from which the House of Brunswick descended" (a note by Hor. Walpole to Wm Mason's *Heroic Epistle*, ed. Toynbee, 1926, p. 59). These figures are described in the *Gent. Mag.* (Aug. 1735, v 498), where it is stated that "Her Majesty has order'd also a choice Collection of *English Books* to be placed therein; and appointed Mr. *Stephen Duck* to be Cave and Library Keeper, and his Wife Necessary Woman there." Duck was allowed to charge a fee for showing the cave to the public (Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ii 396). Mason records the demolition of Merlin's Cave by "Capability" Brown in the *Heroic Epistle* (1773) ll. 53-62.

*Cum lamentamur non apparere labores
Nostros, & tenui deducta poemata filo:* 225
*Cum speramus eo rem venturam, ut simul atque
Carmina rescieris nos fingere, commodus ultro
Arcessas, & egere vetes, & scribere cogas.*

*Sed tamen est operæ pretium cognoscere, quales
Ædituos habeat belli spectata domique* 230
Virtus, indigno non committenda poetæ.

*Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille
Cherilus, incultis qui versibus & male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.*
[*Sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt* 235
*Atramenta, fere scriptores carmine sædo
Splendida facta linunt. idem rex ille, poema]*
*Qui tamen ridiculum tam carè prodigus emit,
Edicto vetuit, ne quis se, præter Apellem,*

372. Dryden and Shadwell had held the office of historiographer royal (re-created in 1661) with the laureateship. See E. K. Broadus, *The Laureateship*, 1921, pp. 62, 63.

375. Boileau and Racine were appointed historiographers to Louis XIV in 1677.

378. *some Minister*] Walpole appointed Cibber poet laureate in 1730. Cibber believed he owed his appointment to having written *The Nonjuror* (1717), a satire upon Jacobitism (*Apology*, ch. xv).

381. Bernini was the architect who designed the great colonnade of St Peter's. His bust of Charles I was made in Rome in 1636-7 from a triple portrait painted

To sing, or cease to sing, we never know;
 And if we will recite nine hours in ten,
 You lose your patience, just like other men.
 Then too we hurt our selves, when to defend
 A single verse, we quarrel with a friend; 365
 Repeat unask'd; lament, the Wit's too fine
 For vulgar eyes, and point out ev'ry line.
 But most, when straining with too weak a wing,
 We needs will write Epistles to the King;
 And from the moment we oblige the town, 370
 Expect a Place, or Pension from the Crown;
 Or dubb'd Historians by express command,
 T' enroll your triumphs o'er the seas and land;
 Be call'd to Court, to plan some work divine,
 As once for LOUIS, Boileau and Racine. 375
 Yet think great Sir! (so many Virtues shown)
 Ah think, what Poet best may make them known?
 Or chuse at least some Minister of Grace,
 Fit to bestow the Laureat's weighty place.
 Charles, to late times to be transmitted fair, 380
 Assign'd his figure to Bernini's care;
 And great Nassau to Kneller's hand decreed
 To fix him graceful on the bounding Steed:
 So well in paint and stone they judg'd of merit:
 But Kings in Wit may want discerning spirit. 385
 The Hero William, and the Martyr Charles,
 One knighted Blackmore, and one pension'd Quarles;

by Vandyke for this purpose, and was presented by the Pope to Henrietta Maria. It perished in the fire at Whitehall in 1696. (See C. F. Bell in *The Times*, Sept. 13, 1921, and Eric Maclagan in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. xl, p. 63.)

382. Kneller's equestrian portrait of William III with allegorical figures, now at Hampton Court, was painted in 1701 to commemorate William's return to England after signing the peace of Ryswick in 1697.

387-9. Blackmore was knighted for his services as court physician, not for his poetry. Nothing is known of Quarles's pension or Jonson's reference to it. The meaning of ll. 388-9 still awaits explanation.

- Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret æra 240
 Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia: quod si
Judicium subtile videndis artibus illud
Ad libros, & ad hæc Musarum dona vocares,
Brutum in crasso jurares aere natum.
- [At neque dedecorant tua de se judicia, atque 245
 Munera quae, multa dantis cum laude, tulerunt
 Dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poetæ:]
- Nec magis expressi vultus per aenea signa,*
Quam per vatis opus mores, animique virorum
Clarorum apparent. Nec sermones ego mallem 250
Repentes per humum, quam res componere gestas,
Terrarumque situs, & flumina dicere, & arces
Montibus impositas; & barbara regna, tuisque
Auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem,
Claustaque Custodem Pacis cohibentia Janum, 255
Et formidatam Parthis, te Principe, Romam.
Si quantum cuperem, possem quoque: sed neque parvum
Carmen Majestas recipit tua, nec meus audet
Rem tentare pudor, quam vires ferre recusant.
Sedulitas autem stultè quem diligit, urget, 260
Præcipuè cum se numeris commendat & arte.
Discit enim citius, meminitque libentius illud.
Quod quis deridet, quam quod probat & veneratur.

- Nil moror officium quod me gravat; ac neque ficto*
In pejus vultu proponi cereus usquam, 265
Nec pravè factis decorari versibus, opto:
Ne rubeam pingui donatus munere; & una

394. Homer was thought to have been an inhabitant of Maconia.

397. Walpole's pacific policy, reluctantly adopted by George II, was becoming increasingly unpopular. *Dearly* is especially ironical. Cf. *Dia.* i 151-160.

410. Dyson quotes Shaftesbury's *Advice to an Author*, Part II, Sect. 1 (ed. 1710,

Which made old Ben, and surly Dennis swear,
 "No Lord's anointed, but a Russian Bear."

Not with such Majesty, such bold relief, 390
 The Forms august of King, or conqu'ring Chief,
 E'er swell'd on Marble; as in Verse have shin'd
 (In polish'd Verse) the Manners and the Mind.
 Oh! could I mount on the Mæonian wing,
 Your Arms, your Actions, your Repose to sing! 395
 What seas you travers'd! and what fields you fought!
 Your Country's Peace, how oft, how dearly bought!
 How barb'rous rage subsided at your word,
 And Nations wonder'd while they dropp'd the sword!
 How, when you nodded, o'er the land and deep, 400
 Peace stole her wing, and wrapt the world in sleep;
 Till Earth's extremes your mediation own,
 And Asia's Tyrants tremble at your Throne—
 But Verse alas! your Majesty disdains;
 And I'm not us'd to Panegyric strains: 405
 The Zeal of Fools offends at any time,
 But most of all, the Zeal of Fools in ryme.
 Besides, a fate attends on all I write,
 That when I aim at praise, they say I bite.
 A vile Encomium doubly ridicules; 410
 There's nothing blackens like the ink of fools;
 If true, a woful likeness, and if lyes,
 "Praise undeserv'd is scandal in disguise:"

p. 73; *Characteristicks*, 1711, i p. 226): "Vile *Encomiums* and wretched *Panegyricks* are the worst of *Satyrs*."

413. A quotation from an anonymous poem, *The Celebrated Beauties*, in Dryden's *Miscellany*, vi (1709) [Carruthers].

*Cum scriptore meo, capsâ porrectus aperta,
Deferar in vicum vendentem thus & odores,
Et piper, & quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis.*

270

417. See Biog. App.

418. cf. Boileau, *Sat.* ix 69-74:

Vous pourrez voir, un temps, vos écrits estimés
Courir de main en main par la ville semés;
Puis de là, tout poudreux, ignorés sur la terre,
Suivre chez l'épicier Neuf-Germain et la Serre;
Ou, de trente feuillets réduits peut-être à neuf,
Paver, demi-rongés, les rebords du Pont-Neuf.

Well may he blush, who gives it, or receives;
And when I flatter, let my dirty leaves 415
(Like Journals, Odes, and such forgotten things
As Eusden, Philips, Settle, writ of Kings)
Cloath spice, line trunks, or flutt' ring in a row,
Befringe the rails of Bedlam and Sohoe.

FINIS

and a passage from the 1711 translation of Boileau's satire, ll. 81-2:

Your Works so highly by your self esteem'd
To Trunks or *London Bridge* may be condemn'd.

419. *Befringe . . . Bedlam*] Gray alludes to this method of displaying pamphlets for sale in a letter to Wharton, Sept. 18, 1754: "Guy, Earl of Warwick . . . died a Hermit (as you may see in a penny History, that hangs upon the rails in Moorfields)," where Bethlehem (or Bedlam) Hospital was then established.

THE
SIXTH EPISTLE
OF THE
FIRST BOOK
OF
HORACE
IMITATED.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated was first published as a 20-page folio in 1738, the title page bearing the date 1737. One line was revised, and a few trivial alterations were made when the poem was reprinted for inclusion in a volume of the collected works in octavo, 1738. No further revisions were made for the octavos of 1740 and 1743, and none are found in Warburton's text, 1751. The present text accepts the revisions of 1738, but in punctuation and typography follows the first edition, from which the Latin text is also taken.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

1737 = First edition, Griffith 476.

Q. HORATII FLACCI EPIST.
VI. LIB. I. AD NUMICIUM.

NIL Admirari, *prope res est una, Numici!*
Solaque, quæ possit facere & servare beatum.

*Hunc Solem, & Stellas, & decedentia certis
Tempora momentis, sunt qui formidine nulla
Imbuti, spectent.—*

— *Quid censes munera Terræ?* 5
Quid Maris, extremos Arabas ditantis, & Indos?
Ludicra quid, plausus, & amici dona Quiritis,
Quo spectanda modo, quo sensu credis, & ore?

Qui timet his adversa, fere miratur eodem
Quo cupiens pacto; pavor est utrique molestus; 10
Improvisa simul species exterret utrumque.
Gaudeat, an doleat, cupiat, metuatve, quid adrem?
Si, quicquid vidit melius, pejusve sua spe,
Defixis oculis, animoque & corpore torpet?

3. *Plain Truth*] "Nil Admirari, is as true, in relation to our opinion of authors, as it is in morality; and one may say, *O, admiratores, servum pecus!* full as justly as *O, Imitatores!*" Pope to Spence, *Anecdotes*, p. 217.

4. *Creech*] From whose Translation of *Horace* the two first lines are taken [P. 1738-51]. Creech's version runs:

Not to admire, as most are wont to do,
It is the only method that I know,
To make Men happy, and to keep 'em so.

THE SIXTH EPISTLE OF THE FIRST BOOK OF *HORACE*.

”**N**OT to Admire, is all the Art I know,
”To make men happy, and to keep them so.”
[Plain Truth, dear MURRAY, needs no flow’rs of
speech,

So take it in the very words of *Creech*.]

This Vault of Air, this congregated Ball, 5
Self-centred Sun, and Stars that rise and fall,
There are, my Friend! whose philosophic eyes
Look thro’, and trust the Ruler with his Skies,
To him commit the hour, the day, the year,
And view this dreadful All without a fear. 10

Admire we then what Earth’s low entrails hold, }
Arabian shores, or Indian seas infold?
All the mad trade of Fools and Slaves for Gold?
Or Popularity, or Stars and Strings?
The Mob’s applauses, or the gifts of Kings? 15
Say with what eyes we ought at Courts to gaze,
And pay the Great our homage of Amaze?

If weak the pleasure that from these can spring,
The fear to want them is as weak a thing:
Whether we dread, or whether we desire, 20
In either case, believe me, we admire;
Whether we joy or grieve, the same the curse,
Surpriz’d at better, or surpriz’d at worse.

HORACE] 1751 adds the sub-title To Mr. MURRAY.

Thomas Creech (1659–1700) was a Fellow of All Souls and Headmaster of Sherborne School, whose best known work is a verse translation of Lucretius (1682), commended by Dryden. His pedestrian translation of Horace was published in 1684; for Pope’s acquaintance with it, see *Introd.* p. xlii.

14. *Strings*] the ribbons of the knightly Orders. Cf. *E. on Man*, iv 205; and Swift, *On Poetry*, l. 463–4:

When on thy Breast and Sides *Herculean*
He fixt the *Star* and *String Cirulean*.

Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam. 15

I nunc, argentum & marmor vetus, æraque & artes
Suspice; cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores:
Gaude, quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem:
Gnavus mane forum, & vespertinus pete tectum: 20
Ne plus frumenti dotalibus emetat agris
Mucius. Indignum, quod sit pejoribus ortus!
Hic tibi sit potius, quam tu mirabilis illi?
Quicquid sub terra est, in apricum proferet Ætas,
Defodiet, condetque nitentia. Quum bene notum 25
Porticus Agrippæ, & via te conspexerit Appi,
Ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit & Ancus.

33. Suits worn at the court festivities on the King's Birthday were unusually magnificent. Cf. *Rape*, Bi 23, *Ep.* II 332.

36. i.e. in Parliament, the Court of Chancery, and the High Court of Justice.

39. *noble Wife*] cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 393.

42. *Chloe*] Charles Butler (*Reminiscences*) and Campbell (*Lives of the Lord Chief Justices*) say that these lines and the *Ode to Venus* refer to an unsuccessful address made to a young lady by Murray in his penniless youth. Horace Walpole glosses the passage "Miss Foley"; perhaps she was the sister of Lord Foley, Murray's

Thus good, or bad, to one extreme betray
 Th' unbalanc'd Mind, and snatch the Man away; 25
 For Vertue's self may too much Zeal be had;
 The worst of Madmen is a Saint run mad.

Go then, and if you can, admire the state
 Of beaming diamonds, and reflected plate;
 Procure a *Taste* to double the surprize, 30
 And gaze on Parian Charms with learned eyes:
 Be struck with bright Brocade, or Tyrian Dye,
 Our Birth-day Nobles splendid Livery:
 If not so pleas'd, at Council-board rejoyce,
 To see their Judgments hang upon thy Voice; 35
 From morn to night, at Senate, Rolls, and Hall,
 Plead much, read more, dine late, or not at all.
 But wherefore all this labour, all this strife?
 For Fame, for Riches, for a noble Wife?
 Shall One whom Nature, Learning, Birth, conspir'd 40
 To form, not to admire, but be admir'd,
 Sigh, while his Chloë, blind to Wit and Worth,
 Weds the rich Dulness of some Son of earth?
 Yet Time ennobles, or degrades each Line;
 It brighten'd CRAGS's, and may darken thine: 45
 And what is Fame? the Meanest have their day,
 The Greatest can but blaze, and pass away.
 Grac'd as thou art, with all the Pow'r of Words,
 So known, so honour'd, at the House of Lords;
 Conspicuous Scene! another yet is nigh, 50
 (More silent far) where Kings and Poets lye;

school-fellow, who had helped him to study for the bar with a gift of £200 a year.

45. *brighten'd Crag's's*] "His early career is involved in considerable obscurity, and though the assertion that he commenced life as a country barber is probably untrue, it is quite likely that his earlier occupations were not of the very highest character" (DNB sub J. Craggs, senior).

darken] Murray was the son of Viscount Stormont.

50. *another*] He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

*Si latus, aut renes morbo tententur acuto,
Quere fugam morbi—*

— *Vis recte vivere? quis non?*

Si Virtus hoc una potest dare, fortis omissis 30
Hoc age deliciis—

— *Virtutem verba putas, ut*

*Lucum ligna? cave ne portus occupet alter,
Ne Cybiratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas.
Mille talenta rotundentur, totidem altera: porro*
Tertia succedant, & quæ pars quadret acervum. 35
Scilicet Uxorem cum dote, fidemque, & Amicos,

53. *Hyde*] First Earl of Clarendon. Charles II's chief adviser and Lord Chancellor.

56. Joshua Ward, the quack doctor; see Biog. App. Writing of him in 1735, Boyer remarked: "he acquired so great Fame in that Kingdom [France], that he was invited to return to *England*, by some *English* Gentlemen of Quality, whom he had cured of some Distempers there" (*Political State*, vol. xlix, p. 32).

57. *Dover*] see Biog. App.

61. *Disdain*] "On Lord Hyde's return from his travels [in 1732], his brother-

Where MURRAY (long enough his Country's pride)
Shall be no more than TULLY, or than HYDE!

Rack'd with Sciatics, martyr'd with the Stone,
Will any mortal let himself alone? 55

See Ward by batter'd Beaus invited over,
And desp'rate Misery lays hold on Dover.

The case is easier in the Mind's disease;

There, all Men may be cur'd, whene'er they please.

Would ye be blest? despise low Joys, low Gains; 60

Disdain whatever CORNBURY disdains;

Be Virtuous, and be happy for your pains.

But art thou one, whom new opinions sway,

One, who believes as Tindal leads the way,

Who Virtue and a Church alike disowns, 65

Thinks that but words, and this but brick and stones?

Fly then, on all the wings of wild desire!

Admire whate'er the maddest can admire.

Is Wealth thy passion? Hence! from Pole to Pole,

Where winds can carry, or where waves can roll, 70

For Indian spices, for Peruvian gold,

Prevent the greedy, and out-bid the bold:

Advance thy golden Mountain to the skies;

On the broad base of fifty thousand rise,

Add one round hundred, and (if that's not fair) 75

Add fifty more, and bring it to a square.

For, mark th' advantage; just so many score

Will gain a Wife with half as many more,

56 See . . . Beaus] Rather than so, see Ward 1737.

in-law, the Lord Essex, told him, with a great deal of pleasure, that he had got a pension for him. It was a very handsome one, and quite equal to his rank.—All Lord Hyde's answer was: 'How could you tell, my lord, that I was to be sold? or at least, how could you know my price so exactly?'—P. [It was on this account that Mr Pope compliments him with that passage—

'disdain, what Cornbury disdains.'—Spence!"]

Anecdotes, p. 292. See Biog. App., Hyde.

*Et genus & formam regina Pecunia donat:
 Ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela, Venusque.
 Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex;
 Ne fueris hic tu—*

— *Chlamydes Lucullus (ut aiunt)* 40

*Si posset centum Scenæ præbere rogatus,
 Qui possum tot? ait: tamen & queram, & quot habebo
 Mittam. Post paulo scribit, sibi millia quinque
 Esse domi chlamydum: partem, vel tolleret omnes.
 Exilis domus est, ubi non & multa supersunt, 45
 Et dominum fallunt, & prosunt furibus. Ergo,*

*Si res sola potest facere & servare beatum,
 Hoc primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas.
 Si Fortunatum species & gratia præstat,
 Mercemur servum, qui dicet nomina, lævum 50
 Qui fodiat latus, & cogat trans pondera dextram
 Porrigere, Hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina:
 Cuilibet hic fascēs dabit, eripietque curule
 Cui volet importunus ebur. Frater, pater, adde:
 Ut cuique est ætas, ita quæque facetus adopta. 55*

81. Alluding to the City Knighthoods, where wealth and worship go together [Warburton].

83-4. The King and Queen had been greatly angered in the previous year (1737) by the Opposition calling the attention of Parliament to the meanness of the Prince of Wales's income, which had been a matter of semi-private dispute for some time.

85. *Timon* see *Moral Es.* iv 99 ff.

87. *a luckless Play*] Warburton may have known to what incident this refers, but he refused to tell. I have been unable to confirm Warton's hesitating con-

Procure her beauty, make that beauty chaste,
 And then such Friends—as cannot fail to last. 80
 A Man of wealth is dubb'd a Man of worth,
 Venus shall give him Form, and Anstis Birth.
 (Believe me, many a German Prince is worse,
 Who proud of Pedigree, is poor of Purse)
 His Wealth brave Timon gloriously confounds; 85
 Ask'd for a groat, he gives a hundred pounds;
 Or if three Ladies like a luckless Play,
 Takes the whole House upon the Poet's day.
 Now, in such exigencies not to need,
 Upon my word, you must be rich indeed; 90
 A noble superfluity it craves,
 Not for your self, but for your Fools and Knaves;
 Something, which for your Honour they may cheat,
 And which it much becomes you to forget.
 If Wealth alone then make and keep us blest, 95
 Still, still be getting, never, never rest.
 But if to Pow'r and Place your Passion lye,
 If in the Pomp of Life consist the Joy;
 Then hire a Slave, (or if you will, a Lord)
 To do the Honours, and to give the Word; 100
 Tell at your Levee, as the Crouds approach,
 To whom to nod, whom take into your Coach,
 Whom honour with your hand: to make remarks,
 Who rules in Cornwall, or who rules in Berks;
 "This may be troublesome, is near the Chair; 105

jecture that the play was Young's *Busiris*, or Malone's that it was Breval's *Plot*. The "Poet's day" was the performance for the poet's Benefit.

104. *Who rules in Cornwall*] A matter of great importance since the county and its boroughs returned forty-four members to parliament. Corruption was notoriously rife there. Walpole employed Edgcumbe to dispose of Government money in buying the elections, and had him raised to the peerage to prevent his being examined (Horace Walpole to Mann, Apr. 22, 1742).

Berks] Pope may be hinting at court influence upon the Windsor seats; or he may have been in need of a rhyme.

*Si, bene qui cœnat, bene vivit; "lucet, eamus
 "Quo ducit gula: piscemur, venemur:" ut olim
 Gargilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, servos,
 Differtum transire forum populumque jubebat,
 Unus ut e multis populo spectante referret
 Emptum mulus aprum—* 60

—Crudi, tumidique lavemur,
*Quid deceat, quid non, obliti: Cerite cera
 Digni, remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulyssæi,
 Cui potior patria fuit interdicta voluptas.
 Si (Mimnermus uti censet) sine amore, jocisque, 65
 Nil est jucundum; vivas in amore, jocisque.
 Vive, vale! si quid novisti rectius istis,
 Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.*

110 your] our 1737.

112. *Up, up*] Wakefield compares Dryden's translation of Persius, *Sat.* v 191:

Up, up, says Avarice; thou snor'st again.

115. *Russel*] "There was a Lord Russell who, by living too luxuriously, had quite spoiled his constitution. He did not love sport, but used to go out with his dogs every day, only to hunt for an appetite. If he felt anything of that, he would cry out, "Oh, I have found it!" turn short round and ride home again, though they were in the midst of the finest chase.—It was this Lord, who, when he met a beggar, and was entreated by him to give him something because he was almost famished with hunger, called him "a happy dog!" and envied him too much to relieve him.—P." (Spence, p. 291). Walpole guessed "Lord Edward," EC Lord Francis, son of the first duke of Bedford. Neither guess is substantiated.

121. *K—Fs . . . Ty—y's*] George Hay, Earl of Kinnoull, and James O'Hara,

"That makes three Members, this can chuse a May'r."

Instructed thus, you bow, embrace, protest,
 Adopt him Son, or Cozen at the least,
 Then turn about, and laugh at your own Jest. }

Or if your life be one continu'd Treat, 110

If to live well means nothing but to eat;

Up, up! cries Gluttony, 'tis break of day,

Go drive the Deer, and drag the finny-prey;

With hounds and horns go hunt an Appetite—

So Russel did, but could not eat at night, 115

Call'd happy Dog! the Beggar at his door,

And envy'd Thirst and Hunger to the Poor.

Or shall we ev'ry Decency confound,

Thro' Taverns, Stews, and Bagnio's take our round,

Go dine with Chartres, in each Vice out-do 120

K—I's lewd Cargo, or Ty—y's Crew,

From Latian Syrens, French Circæan Feasts,

Return well travell'd, and transform'd to Beasts,

Or for a Titled Punk, or Foreign Flame,

Renounce our Country, and degrade our Name? 125

If, after all, we must with Wilmot own,

The Cordial Drop of Life is Love alone,

120 Chartres] Charters 1737. 121 K—I's] K—'s 1737.

Baron Tyrawley, ambassadors at Constantinople and Lisbon. See further, Biog. App.

127. *The Cordial Drop*] Rochester's *Letter from Artemisa, in the town, to Cloe in the country*, ll. 40-5:

Love, the most gen'rous Passion of the Mind;
 The softest Refuge Innocence can find;
 The safe Director of unguided Youth:
 Fraught with kind Wishes, and secur'd by Truth:
 That Cordial-drop Heav'n in our cup has thrown,
 To make the nauseous Draught of Life go down.

Apparently a well-known passage; EC notes that l. 44 is quoted by Mrs Pen-darves in a letter (1728) to Mrs Delany (*Autobiography*, i 150).

And Swift cry wisely, "Vive la Bagatelle!"
The Man that loves and laughs, must sure do well.
Adieu—if this advice appear the worst, 130
E'en take the Counsel which I gave you first:
Or better Precepts if you can impart,
Why do, I'll follow them with all my heart.

128. *And Swift &c.*] "Neither is my Lord Bolingbroke untinged with [inattention]: all for want of my rule, *Vive la bagatelle!*" Swift to Gay, July 10, 1732.

AN
IMITATION
OF THE
SIXTH SATIRE
OF THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
HORACE

NOTE ON THE TEXT

Swift's Imitation of *The Sixth Satire of Horace's Second Book* was written in August 1714 (*Letters of Swift to Ford*, ed. D. Nichol Smith, 1934, p. 44) and was first published in the "last" volume of the *Miscellanies*, 1727. Pope's addition was published with a reprint of Swift's poem as a 28-page folio in 1738. The new matter consists of ll. 9-28, 133-221. Ll. 133-221 are generally ascribed to Pope and may be accepted as his without hesitation. Courthope and Griffith give ll. 9-28 to Pope, and their indication in 1738*a* by marginal commas might be quoted in evidence for this ascription; but Williams, in his edition of Swift's *Poems*, 1937, is inclined to ascribe them to Swift on the evidence of a letter written to Swift by Lord Bathurst on Oct. 5, 1737, which reads:

"That very pretty epistle which you writ many years ago to Lord Oxford, is printed incorrectly. I have a copy, of which I send you a transcript, which has some very good lines in it, that are not in the printed copy, and besides, if you will compare it with the original, you will find that you left off without going through with the epistle. The fable of the country and city mouse is as prettily told as anything of that kind ever was . . ."

Swift, endorsing the letter, notes "20 lines added." All of which is too ambiguous for certain ascription. A few slight revisions were made when the poem was reprinted in the collected works in 1738, 1740, and 1751. The present text embodies the final revisions of 1751, but in punctuation and typography follows the folio of 1738, from which the Latin text is also taken.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

- 1727 = Pope-Swift *Miscellanies*, "last" volume.
- 1738*a* = Folio edition, Griffith 479.
- 1738*b* = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
- 1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
- 1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
- 1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. 6, Griffith 648.

ADVERTISEMENT

THE World may be assured, this Publication is noway meant to interfere with the *Imitations* of *Horace* by Mr. *Pope*: His Manner, and that of Dr. *Swift* are so entirely different, that they can admit of no Invidious Comparison. The Design of the one being to sharpen the Satire, and open the Sense of the Poet; of the other to rend[er] his native *Ease* and *Familiarity* yet more easy and familiar.

Q. HORATII FLACCI
SAT. VI. LIB. II.

HOC erat in votis; modus agri non ita magnus,
Hortus ubi, & tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons,
Et paulum sylvæ super his foret: auclius atque

*Dû melius fecere: bene est: nil amplius oro,
Maia nate, nisi ut propria hæc mihi munera faxis.*

5

*Si neque majorem feci ratione mala rem,
Nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem;
Si veneror stultus nihil horum; "O si angulus ille
"Proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!
"O si urnam argenti fors quæ mihi monstret, ut illi,
"Thesauro invento qui mercenarius agrum
"Illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
"Hercule! si quod adest, gratum juvat; hac prece te oro
Pingue pecus domino facias, & cætera, præter
Ingenium; utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis!
Ergo ubi me in montes & in arcem ex urbe removi,
Quid prius illustrem Satiris, Musaque pedestri?
Nec mala me Ambitio perdit, nec plumbeus Auster,
Autumnusque gravis, Libitinæ quæstus acerbæ.*

10

15

*Matutine pater, seu Jâne libentius audis,
Unde homines operum primos vitæque labores*

20

1 I've often] I often 1727.

THE SIXTH SATIRE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF *HORACE*.

I 'VE often wish'd that I had clear
For life, six hundred pounds a year,
A handsome House to lodge a Friend,
A River at my garden's end,
A Terras-walk, and half a Rood 5
Of Land, set out to plant a Wood.

Well, now I have all this and more,
I ask not to increase my store;
But here a Grievance seems to lie,
All this is mine but till I die; 10
I can't but think 'twould sound more clever,
To me and to my Heirs for ever.

If I ne'er got, or lost a groat,
By any *Trick*, or any *Fault*;
And if I pray by Reason's rules, 15
And not like forty other Fools:
As thus, "Vouchsafe, oh gracious Maker!
"To grant me this and t' other Acre:
"Or if it be thy Will and Pleasure
"Direct my Plow to find a Treasure:" 20

But only what my Station fits,
And to be kept in my right wits.
Preserve, Almighty Providence!
Just what you gave me, Competence:
And let me in these Shades compose 25
Something in Verse as true as Prose;
Remov'd from all th' ambitious Scene,
Nor puff'd by Pride, nor sunk by Spleen.

In short, I'm perfectly content,
Let me but live on this side *Trent*: 30

29 In short, I'm] But should be 1727. 30 Let me] Could I 1727.

10. See *Sat.* II ii 161-4.

*Instituunt (sic diis placitum) tu carminis esto
Principium.*

—*Romæ sponsorem me rapis: eja,*

Ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urgue:

Sive Aquilo radit terras, seu bruma nivalem

25

Interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.

Postmodo, quod mihi obsit, clare certumque locuto,

Luctandum in turba; facienda injuria tardis:

Quid vis insane? & quas res agis? Improbis urguet

Iratis precibus; tu pulses omne quod obstat,

30

Ad Mæcenate memori si mente recurras.

39. "The allusion is to Swift's expenses in entering upon the Deanery of St Patrick's," H. Williams, *Swift's Poems*, 1937.

49. *Ribbons*] the insignia of the Orders of the Garter and the Thistle. Swift's

Nor cross the Channel twice a year,
To spend six months with Statesmen here.
I must by all means come to town,
'Tis for the Service of the Crown,
"Lewis, the Dean will be of use, 35
"Send for him up, take no excuse.
The toil, the danger of the Seas;
Great Ministers ne'er think of these;
Or let it cost five hundred pound,
No matter where the money's found; 40
It is but so much more in debt,
And that they ne'er consider'd yet.
"Good Mr. Dean go change your gown,
"Let my Lord know you've come to town.
I hurry me in haste away, 45
Not thinking it is Levee-day;
And find his Honour in a Pound,
Hemm'd by a triple Circle round,
Chequer'd with Ribbons blue and green;
How should I thrust my self between? 50
Some Wag observes me thus perplex't,
And smiling, whispers to the next,
"I thought the Dean had been too proud,
"To justle here among a croud."
Another in a surly fit, 55
Tells me I have more Zeal than Wit,
"So eager to express your love,
"You ne'er consider whom you shove,
"But rudely press before a Duke.
I own, I'm pleas'd with this rebuke, 60
And take it kindly meant to show

53 Dean] D—n 1738a. 54 a] the 1751.

contempt for the servility for which these ribbons were the reward is expressed in the *Voyage to Lilliput*, ch. iii.

Hoc jui at, & melli est, non mentiar: at simul atras
Ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum
Per caput & circa saluunt latus. Ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras. 35
De re commun si riba magna atque noi a te
Orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, recerti
Imprimat his cura Mæcnas signa tabellis.
Dixeris, Experiar: Si vis, potes, addit, & instat.

Septimus octavo propior jam fugerit annus, 40
Ex quo Mæcnas me caput habere suorum
In numero, duntaxat ad hoc, quem tollere rheda
Vellet, iter faciens, & cui concredere nugas
Hoc genus; Hora quota est? Threx est Gallina Syro par?
Matutina parum cautos jam frigora mordent: 45
Et quæ rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.

84. Swift was first introduced to Harley on Oct. 4, 1710. See *Journal to Stella*.
 94. Three of Swift's fellow-members of the Scriblerus Club. "The only meet-

What I desire the World should know.

I get a whisper, and withdraw,
When twenty Fools I never saw
Come with Petitions fairly penn'd,
Desiring I would stand their friend. 65

This, humbly offers me his Case—
That, begs my int'rest for a Place—
A hundred other Men's affairs
Like Bees are humming in my ears. 70

"Tomorrow my Appeal comes on,
"Without your help the Cause is gone—
The Duke expects my Lord and you,
About some great Affair, at Two—
"Put my Lord Bolingbroke in mind, 75
"To get my Warrant quickly sign'd:

"Consider, 'tis my first request.—
Be satisfy'd, I'll do my best:—
Then presently he falls to teize,
"You may for certain, if you please; 80

"I doubt not, if his Lordship knew—
And, Mr. Dean, one word from you—
'Tis (let me see) three years and more,
(October next it will be four)
Since HARLEY bid me first attend, 85
And chose me for an humble friend;

Wou'd take me in his Coach to chat,
And question me of this and that;
As, "What's o'clock?" And, "How's the Wind?"
"Who's Chariot's that we left behind? 90

Or gravely try to read the lines
Writ underneath the Country Signs;
Or, "Have you nothing new to-day
"From Pope, from Parnel, or from Gay?

*Per totum hoc tempus subjectior in diem & horam
Invidiæ. Noster ludos spectaverat una;
Luserat in Campo: Fortunæ filius; omnes.*

*Frigidus a Rostris manat per compita rumor: 50
Quicumque obvius est, me consulit; O bone (nam te
Scire, Deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet)
Num quid de Dacis audisti? Nil equidem: Ut tu
Semper eris derisor! At omnes Dii exagitent me,
Si quicquam. Quid? militibus promissa Triquetra 55
Prædia Cæsar, an est Itala tellure daturus?
Jurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum
Scilicet egregii mortalem alti que silenti.*

Perditur hæc inter misero lux, non sine votis:

100. *Charing-Cross*] where Royal Proclamations are read.

114. The Emperor was the only allied power who refused to make peace with

Such tattle often entertains	95
My Lord and me as far as Stains,	
As once a week we travel down	
To Windsor, and again to Town,	
Where all that passes, <i>inter nos</i> ,	
Might be proclaim'd at Charing-Cross.	100
Yet some I know with envy swell,	
Because they see me us'd so well:	
"How think you of our Friend the Dean?	
"I wonder what some people mean;	
"My Lord and he are grown so great,	105
"Always together, <i>tête à tête</i> ,	
"What, they admire him for his jokes—	
"See but the fortune of some Folks!	
There flies about a strange report	
Of some Express arriv'd at Court,	110
I'm stopp'd by all the fools I meet,	
And catechis'd in ev'ry street.	
"You, Mr Dean, frequent the great;	
"Inform us, will the Emp'rour treat?	
"Or do the Prints and Papers lye?	115
Faith, Sir, you know as much as I.	
"Ah Doctor, how you love to jest?	
"'Tis now no secret—I protest	
'Tis one to me—"Then tell us, pray,	
"When are the Troops to have their pay?	120
And, tho' I solemnly declare	
I know no more than my Lord Mayor,	
They stand amaz'd, and think me grown	
The closest mortal ever known.	
Thus in a sea of folly toss'd,	125
My choicest Hours of life are lost;	
Yet always wishing to retreat,	

*O rus quando ego te aspiciam? quandoque licebit,
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno & inertibus horis,
Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ?* 60

*O quando faba Pythagoræ cognata, simulque
Uncta satis pingui ponentur oluscula lardo?
O noctes canæque deiim! quibus ipse meique,
Ante larem proprium vescor, vernasque procaces
Pasco libatis dapibus. Prout curque libido est,
Siccant inæquales calices conviva solutus
Legibus insanis; seu quis capit acria fortis
Pocula, seu modicis uvescit lætius. Ergo
Sermo oritur non de villis domibusve alienis,
Nec, male necne Lepos saltet; sed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet, & nescire malum est, agitamus: utrumne
Divitiis homines, an sint virtute beati:
Quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne trahat nos?
Et quæ sit natura boni, summumque quid ejus?* 65 70 75

*Cervius hæc inter vicinus garrit aniles
Ex re fabellas. Siquis nam laudat Arelli
Solicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit. Olim
Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum;
Asper, & attentus quæsit, ut tamen arcum
Solveret hospitii animum: quid multa? neque ille
Sepositi ciceris, nec longæ invidit avenæ:* 80

137. Ward quotes Pope's account of Bolingbroke's frugal fare: "for one whole day, we have had nothing for dinner but mutton-broth, beans, and bacon, and

Oh, could I see my Country Seat!
There, leaning near a gentle Brook,
Sleep, or peruse some ancient Book, 130
And there in sweet oblivion drown
Those Cares that haunt the Court and Town.

O charming Noons! and Nights divine!
Or when I sup, or when I dine,
My Friends above, my Folks below, 135
Chatting and laughing all-a-row,
The Beans and Bacon set before 'em,
The Grace-cup serv'd with all decorum:
Each willing to be pleas'd, and please,
And even the very Dogs at ease! 140

Here no man prates of idle things,
How this or that Italian sings,
A Neighbour's Madness, or his Spouse's,
Or what's in either of the *Houses*:
But something much more our concern, 145
And quite a scandal not to learn:
Which is the happier, or the wiser,
A man of Merit, or a Miser?
Whether we ought to chuse our Friends,
For their own Worth, or our own Ends? 150
What good, or better, we may call,
And what, the very best of all?

Our Friend Dan *Prior* told, (you know)
A Tale extreamly *à propos*:
Name a Town Life, and in a trice, 155
He had a Story of *two Mice*.

Once on a time (so runs the Fable)
A Country Mouse, right hospitable,
Receiv'd a Town Mouse at his Board,
Just as a Farmer might a Lord. 160

<i>Aridum & ore ferens acinum, semesaque lardi</i>	85
<i>Frustra dedit, cupiens varia fastidia cœna</i>	
<i>Vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo:</i>	
<i>Cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna</i>	
<i>Esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.</i>	
<i>Tandem urbanus ad hunc, Quid te juvat, inquit, amice,</i>	90
<i>Prærupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?</i>	
<i>Vis tu homines urbemque feris præponere sylvis?</i>	
<i>Carpe viam (mihi crede) comes, terrestria quando</i>	
<i>Mortales animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est</i>	
<i>Aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo bone circa,</i>	95
<i>Dum licet, in rebus jucundis vive beatus:</i>	
<i>Vive memor quam sis ævi brevis. Haec ubi dicta</i>	
<i>Agrestem pepulere, domo levis exsilit: inde</i>	
<i>Ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes</i>	
<i>Mœnia nocturni subrepere: jamque tenebat</i>	100
<i>Nox medium cœli spatium, cum ponit uterque</i>	
<i>In locuplete domo vestigia; rubro ubi cocco</i>	
<i>Tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos:</i>	
<i>Multaque de magna superessent fercula cœna,</i>	
<i>Quæ procul extructis inerant hesterna canistris.</i>	105

175-6, 1738b-43 read

"As sweet a Cave as one shall see!

"A most Romantic hollow Tree!

167. "I found my wife vexed at her people for grumbling to eat Suffolk

A frugal Mouse upon the whole,
 Yet lov'd his Friend, and had a Soul;
 Knew what was handsome, and wou'd do't,
 On just occasion, *coute qui coute*.
 He brought him Bacon (nothing lean) 165
 Pudding, that might have pleas'd a Dean;
 Cheese, such as men in Suffolk make,
 But wish'd it Stilton for his sake;
 Yet to his Guest tho' no way sparing,
 He eat himself the Rind and paring. 170
 Our Courtier scarce could touch a bit,
 But show'd his Breeding, and his Wit,
 He did his best to seem to eat,
 And cry'd, "I vow you're mighty neat.
 "But Lord, my Friend, this savage Scene! 175
 "For God's sake, come, and live with Men:
 "Consider, Mice, like Men, must die,
 "Both small and great, both you and I:
 "Then spend your life in Joy and Sport,
 "(This doctrine, Friend, I learnt at Court.) 180
 The veriest Hermit in the Nation
 May yield, God knows, to strong Temptation.
 Away they come, thro' thick and thin,
 To a tall house near Lincoln's-Inn:
 ('Twas on the night of a Debate, 185
 When all their Lordships had sate late.)
 Behold the place, where if a Poet
 Shin'd in Description, he might show it,
 Tell how the Moon-beam trembling falls
 And tips with silver all the walls: 190

"A pretty kind of savage Scene!

"But come, for God's sake, live with Men:

177-80 *No initial inverted commas in 1738a.*

*Ergo ubi purpurea porrectum in vesti locavit
Agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes,
Continuatque dapes; nec non vernaliter ipsis
Fungitur officiis, prælambens omne quod affert.
Ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte, bonisque 110
Rebus agit lætum convivam; cum subito ingens
Valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque;
Currere per totum pavidæ conclavæ, magisque
Exanimæ trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis
Personuit canibus. Tum rusticus, Haud mihi vita 115
Est opus hac, ait, & valeas: me sylva cavusque
Tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo.*

Palladian walls, Venetian doors,
 Grotesco roofs, and Stucco floors:
 But let it (in a word) be said,
 The Moon was up, and Men a-bed,
 The Napkins white, the Carpet red: } 195
 The Guests withdrawn had left the Treat,
 And down the Mice sate, *tête à tête*.

Our Courtier walks from dish to dish,
 Tastes for his Friend of Fowl and Fish;
 Tells all their names, lays down the law, 200
"Que ça est bon! Ah goutez ça!"
 "That Jelly's rich, this Malmsey healing,
 "Pray dip your Whiskers and your Tail in".
 Was ever such a happy Swain?
 He stuffs and swills, and stuffs again. 205
 "I'm quite asham'd—'tis mighty rude
 "To eat so much—but all's so good.
 "I have a thousand thanks to give—
 "My Lord alone knows how to live".

No sooner said, but from the Hall 210
 Rush Chaplain, Butler, Dogs and all:
 "A Rat, a Rat! clap to the door—
 The Cat comes bouncing on the floor.
 O for the Heart of Homer's Mice,
 Or Gods to save them in a trice! 215
 (It was by Providence, they think,
 For your damn'd Stucco has no chink)
 "An't please your Honour, quoth the Peasant,
 "This same Dessert is not so pleasant:
 "Give me again my hollow Tree! 220
 "A Crust of Bread, and Liberty.

THE
SEVENTH EPISTLE
OF THE
FIRST BOOK
OF
H O R A C E

Imitated in the Manner of Dr. SWIFT

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The Seventh Epistle of the First Book of Horace. Imitated in the Manner of Dr Swift was first published in vol. ii, part 2, of Pope's collected works in octavo, 1739 (the titlepage bears the date 1738). No changes are found in the text as printed in the octavos of 1740 and 1743, but a few trivial revisions appear in Warburton's text in 1751. Presumably these are Pope's. They are incorporated into the present text, which otherwise follows the text of the first edition.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

- 1738 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. vi, Griffith 648.

Q. HORATII FLACCI
E P. VII. LIB. I.

QUINQUE dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum,
Sextilem totum mendax desideror. Atqui
Si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem,
Quam mihi das ægro, dabis ægrotare timenti,
Mæcenas, veniam; dum ficus prima calorque 5
Designatorem decorat lictoribus atris;
Dum pueris omnis pater & matercula pallet;
Officiosaque sedulitas, & opella forensis
Adducit febres, & testamenta resignat.

Quod si bruma nives Albanis illinet agris, 10
Ad mare descendet vates tuus, & sibi parcet,
Contractusque leget; te, dulcis amice, reviset
Cum Zephyris, si concedes, & hirundine prima.

Non quo more pyris vesci Calaber jubet hospes,
Tu me fecisti locupletem: "Vescere sodes. 15
Jam satis est. "At tu quantum vis tolle. Benigne.

1. When Pope imitated Horace's first epistle to Mæcenas he addressed it to Bolingbroke, which argues that this imitation of another epistle to Mæcenas may have been addressed to Bolingbroke as well. Lines 12 and 82 might be quoted in frail support of this view; on the other hand, Bolingbroke had few favours to bestow in the seventeen-thirties (l. 21), and was not besieged by

THE SEVENTH EPISTLE OF THE FIRST BOOK OF *HORACE*

Imitated in the Manner of Dr. SWIFT

'TIS true, my Lord, I gave my word,
I would be with you, June the third;
Chang'd it to August, and (in short)
Have kept it—as you do at Court.
You humour me when I am sick, 5
Why not when I am splenatic?
In town, what Objects could I meet?
The shops shut up in every street,
And Fun'ral black'ning all the Doors,
And yet more melancholy Whores: 10
And what a dust in ev'ry place!
And a thin Court that wants your Face,
And Fevers raging up and down,
And W* and H* both in town!
“The Dog-days are no more the case.” 15
'Tis true, but Winter comes apace:
Then southward let your Bard retire,
Hold out some months 'twixt Sun and Fire,
And you shall see, the first warm Weather,
Me and the Butterflies together. 20
My lord, your Favours well I know;
'Tis with Distinction you bestow;
And not to every one that comes,
Just as a Scotsman does his Plumbs.
“Pray take them, Sir,—Enough's a Feast: 25
“Eat some, and pocket up the rest—”

14 W* and H*] P—x and P** 1738-43.

fools with compliments (l. 29). Ll. 3, 15, 73 suggest that the poem was written in the autumn of 1737.

14. W* and H*] Possibly Ward and Henley, as two representative quacks for bodily and mental ailments [Ward].

"Non inuisa feres pueris munuscula pari is.
 Tam teneor dono quam si dimittar onustus.
 "Ut libet: hæc porcis hodie comedenda relinques.
 Prodigus & stultus donat quæ spernit & odit: 20
 Hæc seges ingratos tulit, & feret omnibus annis.
 Vir bonus & sapiens dignus ait esse paratus;
 Nec tamen ignorat quid distent æra lupinis.

Dignum præstabo me etiam pro laude merentis.
 Quod si me noles usquam discedere, reddes 25
 Forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos;
 Reddes dulce loqui; reddes ridere decorum, &
 Inter vina fugam Cynaræ mædere protervæ.

Forte per angustam tenuis nitedula rimam
 Repserat in cumeram frumenti; pastaque rursus 30
 Ire foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra:
 Cui mustela procul, Si vis, ait effugere istinc,
 Macra cavum repetes arcum, quem macra subisti.

29 *Horace, nitedula*] Bentley's conjecture, now usually accepted. P corrects to *volpecula* in 1740.

45. *the lively Eye*] cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 118. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who saw Pope in 1740, was impressed by his "large and very fine eye" (*Prior's Life of*

What rob your Boys? those pretty rogues!—
 “No Sir, you’ll leave them to the *Hogs*.”
 Thus Fools with Compliments besiege ye,
 Contriving never to oblige ye. 30
 Scatter your Favours on a Fop,
 Ingratitude’s the certain crop;
 And ’tis but just, I’ll tell you wherefore,
 You give the things you never care for.
 A wise man always is or should 35
 Be mighty ready to do good;
 But makes a diff’rence in his thought
 Betwixt a Guinea and a Groat.
 Now this I’ll say, you’ll find in me
 A safe Companion, and a free; 40
 But if you’d have me always near—
 A word, pray, in your Honour’s ear.
 I hope it is your Resolution
 To give me back my Constitution!
 The sprightly Wit, the lively Eye, 45
 Th’ engaging Smile, the Gaiety,
 That laugh’d down many a Summer’s Sun,
 And kept you up so oft till one;
 And all that voluntary Vein,
 As when Belinda rais’d my Strain. 50
 A Weasel once made shift to slink
 In at a Corn-loft thro’ a Chink;
 But having amply stuff’d his skin,
 Cou’d not get out as he got in:
 Which one belonging to the House 55
 (’Twas not a Man, it was a Mouse)
 Observing, cry’d, “You scape not so,

33 you] ye 1751. 34 give] gave 1738-43.

47 Summer’s] Summer 1751.

Malone, 1860, p. 429).

50. i.e. when he wrote *The Rape of the Lock*.

*Hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno:
Nec somnum plebis laudo, satur altitium, nec* 35
Otia divitis Arabum liberrima muto.
Sæpe verecundum laudasti; rexque paterque
Audisti coram; nec verbo parcius absens:
Inspice si possum donata reponere lætus.

* * * * *

Parvum parva decent: mihi jam non regia Roma, 40
Sed vacuum Tibur placet, aut imbelle Tarentum.
Sirenius & fortis rebusque Philippus agendis, &c.

67. Mr. Craggs gave him some South-sea subscriptions. He was so indifferent about them as to neglect making any benefit of them. He used to say it was a satisfaction to him that he did not grow rich (as he might have done) by the

"Lean as you came, Sir, you must go."
 Sir, you may spare your Application
 I'm no such Beast, nor his Relation; 60
 Nor one that Temperance advance,
 Cramm'd to the throat with Ortolans:
 Extremely ready to resign
 All that may make me none of mine.
 South-sea Subscriptions take who please, 65
 Leave me but Liberty and Ease.
 'Twas what I said to Craggs and Child,
 Who prais'd my Modesty, and smil'd.
 Give me, I cry'd, (enough for me)
 My Bread, and Independency! 70
 So bought an Annual Rent or two.
 And liv'd—just as you see I do;
 Near fifty, and without a Wife,
 I trust that sinking Fund, my Life.
 Can I retrench? Yes, mighty well, 75
 Shrink back to my Paternal Cell,
 A little House, with Trees a-row,
 And like its Master, very low,
 There dy'd my Father, no man's Debtor,
 And there I'll die, nor worse nor better. 80
 To set this matter full before you,
 Our old Friend Swift will tell his Story.
 "Harley, the Nation's great Support,"—
 But you may read it, I stop short.

81 you] ye 1751.

public calamity [Warburton].

79. Pope's father died at Chiswick in 1717.

THE
FIRST EPISTLE
OF THE
FIRST BOOK
OF
HORACE
IMITATED.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The First Epistle of The First Book of Horace Imitated was first published as a 22-page folio in 1738, the titlepage bearing the date 1737. Several revisions were made in the text when the poem was reprinted for inclusion in the octavo volume of the collected works later in the same year, and a few more appear for the first time in Warburton's edition, 1751. These final revisions are accepted in the present text which follows the first edition in typography and punctuation, except where confusion might arise through leaving inverted commas open. The Latin text is also taken from the first edition, two misprints being silently corrected.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

- 1737 = First edition, Griffith 480.
1738 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.

Q. HORATII FLACCI EPIST. I. LIB. I. AD MÆCENATEM.

PRIMA du te mihi, summâ du ende Camena!
Spectatum satis, & donatum jam rude, quaris
(Mæcenas) iterum antiquo me includere ludo?
Non eadem est ætas, non mens. Vexantur Annus
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agio,
Ne populum extrema, toties, exoret arena.

5

*Est mihi, purgatam crebro qui personet aurem,
"Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
"Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & illa ducat."*

*Nunc itaque, & Versus & cætera ludicra pono, 10
Quid verum atque decens, curo & rogo, & omnis in hoc sum.
Condo & compono quæ mox depromere possim.*

EPISTLE I.] 1751 adds the sub-title To L. BOLINGBROKE

3. *Sabbath*] i.e. The forty-ninth year, the age of the Author [Warburton]. Pope had already turned forty-nine.

7. *Gen'als . . . Garden gates*] Warton has preserved the tradition that Pope was alluding to the entrance of Lord Peterborough's Lawn at Bevismount, near Southampton. Peterborough had died in 1735; but that is not necessarily an objection to the truth of the tradition, for Pope had published the lines describing his care for his dying mother in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* eighteen months after her death. Cf. *Moral Es.* iv. 30.

14. Audra (*L'Influence Française*, p. 362) compares the 1711 translation of Boileau's Tenth Epistle, ll. 63-6;

His *Pegasus* shou'd now the Race give o're,
He's Old and Weak, and shou'd be Rid no more,

EPISTLES OF HORACE.

BOOK I. EPISTLE I.

ST JOHN, whose love indulg'd my labours past
 Matures my present, and shall bound my last!
 Why will you break the Sabbath of my days?
 Now sick alike of Envy and of Praise.
 Publick too long, ah let me hide my Age! 5
 See modest Cibber now has left the Stage:
 Our Gen'ral's now, retir'd to their Estates,
 Hang their old Trophies o'er the Garden gates,
 In Life's cool evening satiate of applause,
 Nor fond of bleeding, ev'n in BRUNSWICK's cause. 10
 A Voice there is, that whispers in my ear,
 ('Tis Reason's voice, which sometimes one can hear)
 "Friend Pope! be prudent, let your Muse take breath,
 "And never gallop Pegasus to death;
 "Lest stiff, and stately, void of fire, or force, 15
 "You limp, like Blackmore, on a Lord Mayor's horse."
 Farewell then Verse, and Love, and ev'ry Toy,
 The rhymes and rattles of the Man or Boy:
 What right, what true, what fit, we justly call,

1 ST JOHN,] S** 1737. 10 BRUNSWICK's] BR—'s 1737.
 15 or] and 1737.

Least, his Wind broke, and ev'ry Limb unsound,
 He falls, and leaves his Master on the Ground

16. *Blackmore*] The fame of this heavy Poet, however problematual elsewhere, was universally received in the City of London. His versification is here exactly described: stiff, and not strong; stately and yet dull, like the sober and slow-paced Animal generally employed to mount the Lord Mayor: and therefore here humourously opposed to Pegasus [P. 1751].

"His residence was in Cheapside, and his friends were chiefly in the city. In . . . Blackmore's time a citizen was a term of reproach; and his place of abode was another topick to which his adversaries had recourse, in the penury of scandal." Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ii 236. See further Biog. App.

18. *rattles*] Cf *E. on Man*, ii 275-82.

*Ac ne forte roges, quo me duce, quo Lare
 Nullius addictus jurare in verba Magistri,
 Quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor Hosq[ue]
 Nunc agilis fio, & mensor civilibus undis,
 Virtutis veræ Custos, rigidusque satelles.
 Nunc in Aristippi furtim præcepta relabor
 Et mihi res, non me rebus, submittere conor.*

*Ut nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diesq[ue]
 Longa videtur opus debentibus, ut piger an-
 Pupillis, quos dura premit custodia matrum:
 Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, &
 Consiliumque morantur agendi gnaviter id
 Æque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus a
 Æque neglectum pueris, senibusque noceb*

Restat, ut his ego me ipse regam, solerque, E

26. *Montaigne . . . Lock*] "There are, also, four dialogues between persons of characters very strongly opposed to each other. I thought very good . . . [One] between Montaigne and Locke, a regular and a very loose way of thinking." Pope to Spence (1734).
 27. *Patriot*] A member of the Opposition. See Pope's note to *Ep. 1. 17*.
 31. *Omnis Aristippum decuit color, & status, & res* [*P. 17* from Horace, *Ep. 1. xvii* 23. Aristippus was the founder of the Epicurean Philosophy, who held that, since the present only can be enjoyed,

Let this be all my care—for this is All:	20
To lay this harvest up, and hoard with haste	
What ev'ry day will want, and most, the last.	
But ask not, to what Doctors I apply?	
Sworn to no Master, of no Sect am I:	
As drives the storm, at any door I knock,	25
And house with Montagne now, or now with Lock.	
Sometimes a Patriot, active in debate,	
Mix with the World, and battle for the State,	
Free as young Lyttelton, her cause pursue,	
Still true to Virtue, and as warm as true:	30
Sometimes, with Aristippus, or St. Paul,	
Indulge my Candor, and grow all to all;	
Back to my native Moderation slide,	
And win my way by yielding to the tyde.	
Long, as to him who works for debt, the Day;	35
Long as the Night to her whose love's away;	
Long as the Year's dull circle seems to run,	
When the brisk Minor pants for twenty-one;	
So slow th' unprofitable Moments roll,	
That lock up all the Functions of my soul;	40
That keep me from Myself; and still delay	
Life's instant business to a future day:	
That task, which as we follow, or despise,	
The eldest is a fool, the youngest wise;	
Which done, the poorest can no wants endure,	45
And which not done, the richest must be poor.	
Late as it is, I put my self to school,	

tary pleasure is the chief good. Aristippus was Bolingbroke's favourite philosopher (Swift to Pope, Apr. 5, 1729).

St. Paul] Pope had in mind such verses as these: "Even as I please all men in all things . . . [that they may be saved]" (1 Cor. x 33), and "Let your moderation be known unto all men" (Phil. iv 5).

32. *Candor*] i.e. Impartiality.

45. *can . . . endure*] i.e. can want nothing.

*Non possis oculo quantum contendere Lyncæus,
 Non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungi:
 Nec, quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis,
 30
 Nodosâ corpus nolis prohibere chiragrâ.
 Est quâdam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.*

*Fervet Avaritia, miseroque Cupidine pectus?
 Sunt verba & voces, quibus hunc leniri dolorem
 Possis, & magnam morbi deponere partem.
 35
 Laudis amore tumes? sunt certa piacula, quæ te
 Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
 Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, Amator,
 Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
 40
 Si modo culturæ patientem commodet aurem.*

*Virtus est vitium fugere, & Sapientia prima
 Stultitia caruisse—*

*—Vides, quæ maxima credis
 Esse mala, exiguum censum, turpemque repulsam,
 Quanto devites animi, capitisque labore?
 45
 Impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,
 Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes:
 Ne cures ea que stulte miraris & optas
 Discere, & audire, & meliori credere non vis?*

51. Mead was the most famous physician of his day, and Cheselden the most famous surgeon. Both were on friendly terms with Pope; after mentioning their attention to him in his last illness in a letter to Allen, May 7, 1744, he continues: "there is no end of my kind treatment from y^e Facultie they are in general y^e most Amiable Companions and y^e best friends as well as the most learned men I know I hope both you and I shall preserve y^e friendship of all we know" (Egerton MS. 1947, f. 151^r, amanuensis). See also Biog. App.

And feel some comfort, not to be a fool.
 Weak tho' I am of limb, and short of sight,
 Far from a Lynx, and not a Giant quite, 50
 I'll do what MEAD and CHESELDEN advise,
 To keep these limbs, and to preserve these eyes.
 Not to go back, is somewhat to advance,
 And men must walk at least before they dance.
 Say, does thy blood rebel, thy bosom move 55
 With wretched Av'rice, or as wretched Love?
 Know, there are Words, and Spells, which can controll
 (Between the Fits) this Fever of the soul:
 Know, there are Rhymes, which (fresh and fresh apply'd)
 Will cure the arrant'st Puppy of his Pride. 60
 Be furious, envious, slothful, mad or drunk,
 Slave to a Wife or Vassal to a Punk,
 A Switz, a High-dutch, or a Low-dutch Bear—
 All that we ask is but a patient Ear.
 'Tis the first Virtue, Vices to abhor; 65
 And the first Wisdom, to be Fool no more.
 But to the world, no bugbear is so great,
 As want of figure, and a small Estate.
 To either India see the Merchant fly,
 Scar'd at the spectre of pale Poverty! 70
 See him, with pains of body, pangs of soul,
 Burn through the Tropic, freeze beneath the Pole!
 Wilt thou do nothing for a nobler end,
 Nothing, to make Philosophy thy friend?
 To stop thy foolish views, thy long desires, 75
 And ease thy heart of all that it admires?

52. *these eyes*] Pope complains of short-sightedness in a letter to Cromwell, July 17, 1709, and as early as 1717 he was receiving treatment (EC vi 246). Towards the end of his life, he suffered from cataract (letters to Warburton, Jan. 18, 1742-3, June 5, 1743; to Cheseelden, Nov. 21).

70. *pale Poverty*] Pope has borrowed from and improved upon Creech's rendering:

and leave pale Want behind.

"Valius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum—
 "O cives, cives! quærenda Pecunia primum est, 50
 "Virtus post nummos—Hæc Janus summus ab imo
 Prodocat: hæc recinunt juvenes dictata, senesque,
 Levo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.

Est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua, fidesque—
 Si quadringentis sex, septem millia desint, 55
 Plebs eris—

At pueri ludentes, "Rex eris (aiunt)
 "Si recte facies." Hic murus aheneus esto,
 Nil conscire sibi, nullâ palleescere culpâ!

88 Dorimant] Bestia fain 1737.

82. *low . . . high*] These words had been in use since about the beginning of the century to designate the two parties in the English church. See *Tatler*, No. 220.

The Dean of St Paul's, Francis Hare, had shown his High-Churchmanship by attacking the Bishop of Bangor's views in a pamphlet entitled *Church Authority Vindicated*, 1719. Secker, the Rector of St James's, Westminster, had also taken the High Church side in the Bangorian controversy; but his Whig politics and the favour in which he was held at court must have associated him in Pope's mind with the Low Church party. See further, *Biog. App.*

84. *Sticks*] Exchequer tallies; i.e. sticks cut into two parts, on each of which is marked with notches, what is due between debtor and creditor. It was the ancient mode of keeping accounts; one part was held by the creditor, and the other by the debtor. The use of tallies in the Exchequer was abolished in 1783. (*Wharton's Law Lex.*)

87. *Harness*] the order of the Garter, which "Bug" had been given in 1712.

88. *Bug*] the nickname of Henry de Grey, Duke of Kent, according to Horace

- Here, Wisdom calls: "Seek Virtue first! be bold!
 "As Gold to Silver, Virtue is to Gold."
 There, London's voice: "Get Mony, Mony still!
 "And then let Virtue follow, if she will." 80
 This, this the saving doctrine, preach'd to all,
 From low St. James's up to high St. Paul;
 From him whose quills stand quiver'd at his ear,
 To him who notches Sticks at Westminster.
 BARNARD in spirit, sense, and truth abounds. 85
 "Pray then what wants he?" fourscore thousand pounds,
 A Pension, or such Harness for a slave
 As Bug now has, and Dorimant would have.
 BARNARD, thou are a *Cit*, with all thy worth;
 But Bug and D*I, Their *Honours*, and so forth. 90
 Yet every child another song will sing,
 "Virtue, brave boys! 'tis Virtue makes a King."
 True, conscious Honour is to feel no sin,
 He's arm'd without that's innocent within;
 Be this thy Screen, and this thy Wall of Brass; 95
 Compar'd to this, a Minister's an Ass.

90 But . . . *Honours*] Bestia and Bug, Their *Honours* 1737: But wretched Bug, His *Honour* 1738-43.

Walpole and a correspondent of the Duchess of Marlborough (*Letters*, 1838, i 243). Its origin is suggested in a note of the Earl of Dartmouth to Burnet's *History of his Own Times* (v 140): "The Earl of Kent was strong in nothing but money and smell, the latter to a high degree." See further Biog. App.

Dorimant] a young fop in Etherege's *Man of Mode*.

89. *Cit*] Short for *citizen*. "A pert low townsman; a pragmatical trader." OED, from Johnson.

worth] EC points out that Horace's Roman was not entitled to sit as an *equus* in the senatorial ranks at the theatre because he did not possess 40,000 sesterces. Money alone, in fact, conferred a status. But what Barnard, the city merchant, lacked in order to be honoured like Bug, was not money but birth.

90. *D*I*] Perhaps Francis Scott, the young Earl of Delorain [Croker].

95. *Screen*] Warburton quotes from Dacier's note on *murus aheneus*: "an old veteran, armed cap-a-pie in brass, and placed to cover his Fellow." Our Poet has happily served himself of this impertinence to convey a fine stroke of Satire."

96. The point of this addition to the Latin is explained in a note to *Dia*. i 22.

*Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex, an puerorum
Nenia? quæ regnum recte facientibus offert,
Et Maribus Curiis, & decantata Camillis?*

*Isne tibi melius suadet, qui "Rem facias, rem,
"Si possis, recte, si non, quocunque modo rem."
Ut proprius spectes lacrymosa Poemata Puppi!
An, qui Fortunæ te responsare superbæ
Liberum & erectum, præsens hortatur, & aptat*

*Quod si me Populus Romanus forte roget, cur
Non, ut porticibus, sic iudiciis fruar iisdem,
Nec sequar aut fugiam, quos diligit ipse, vel odit.
Olim quod Vulpes agroto cauta Leoni
Respondit, referam: "Quia me vestigia terrent
"Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.*

Bellua multorum est capitum, nam quid seq

105. *Eunuchs*] The most famous *castrato* of the day was Farinelli. He came to England for three seasons in 1734, and excited great interest in the opera. The following *castrati* were also fulfilling operatic engagements in London at about this time, Bernacchi, Caffarelli, Carestini, Senesino (*Grove's Dict. of Music*).

106. *a King*] George II was an enthusiastic patron of Handel's music. 112. *S*2*] Augustus Schutz, Keeper of the Privy Purse. See Bio

And say, to which shall our applause belong,
 This new Court jargon, or the good old song?
 The modern language of corrupted Peers,
 Or what was spoke at CRESSY and POITIERS? 100
 Who counsels best? who whispers, "Be but Great,
 "With Praise or Infamy, leave that to fate;
 "Get Place and Wealth, if possible, with Grace;
 "If not, by any means get Wealth and Place.
 For what? to have a Box where Eunuchs sing, 105
 And foremost in the Circle eye a King.
 Or he, who bids thee face with steddly view
 Proud Fortune, and look shallow Greatness thro':
 And, while he bids thee, sets th' Example too? }
 If such a Doctrine, in St. James's air, 110
 Shou'd chance to make the well-drest Rabble stare;
 If honest S*z take scandal at a spark,
 That less admires the Palace than the Park;
 Faith I shall give the answer Reynard gave,
 "I cannot like, Dread Sir! your Royal Cave; 115
 "Because I see by all the Tracks about,
 "Full many a Beast goes in, but none come out."
 Adieu to Virtue if you're once a Slave:
 Send her to Court, you send her to her Grave.
 Well, if a King's a Lion, at the least 120
 The People are a many-headed Beast:
 Can they direct what measures to pursue,

112 S*z] S* 1737. 117 come] comes 1737-43.

114. *Reynard*] Cf. Creech's version: My Answer must be what sly *Reynard* said.

117. *Beast*] This expression is used for the joke's sake; but it hurts his *moral* [l. 118-19]; which is, that *they come out beasts*" [Warburton].

120. *King's a Lion*] "Oh! a story of Mr. Pope and the Prince:—'Mr. Pope, you don't love princes.' 'Sir, I beg your pardon.' 'Well, you don't love kings then!' 'Sir, I own I love the lion best before his claws are grown'" (Walpole to Mann, Sept. 13, 1741).

*Pars hominum gestit conducere Publica. Sunt qui
Crustis & Pornis, Viduas venentur avaras,* 75
*Excipiantque Senes quos in vivaria mittunt.
Multis occulto crescit res senore—*

—*Verum*

*Esto, aliis alios rebus, studiisque teneri:
Idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?*

"Nullus in orbe locus Baiis præluet amenis:" 80
*Si dixit Dives, lacus & mare sentit amorem
Festinantis heri. Cui si vitiosa Libido
Fecerit auspicium, cras, "ferramenta Teanum
"Tolletis, fabri!—*

127. *to plunder Provinces*] A reference to Marlborough, "infamous for plunder'd provinces" (*E. on Man*, iv 298).

128. *farm the Poor-box*] alluding to the officers who embezzled the funds of the Charitable Corporation. See *Moral Es.* iii 100n.

129. *keep Assemblies*] e.g. Beau Nash, who had ruled at Bath since about 1705.

130. *childless Dotards . . . rich Widows*] The satire is universal, and the imitation closely follows the Latin; it is therefore unnecessary to suppose that Pope had particular examples in mind. Yet he may have reflected, as Warton points out, that these lines were applicable to Lord Sidney Beauclerc, brother of the Duke of St. Albans, who had danced attendance on Sir Thomas Reeve, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and later on Mr Topham of Windsor, who made him his

Who know themselves so little what to do?
 Alike in nothing but one Lust of Gold,
 Just half the land would buy, and half be sold: 125
 Their Country's wealth our mightier Misers drain,
 Or cross, to plunder Provinces, the Main:
 The rest, some farm the Poor-box, some the Pews;
 Some keep Assemblies, and wou'd keep the Stews;
 Some with fat Bucks on childless Dotards fawn; 130
 Some win rich Widows by their Chine and Brawn;
 While with the silent growth of ten per Cent,
 In Dirt and darkness hundreds stink content.

Of all these ways, if each pursues his own,
 Satire be kind, and let the wretch alone. 135
 But show me one, who has it in his pow'r
 To act consistent with himself an hour.
 Sir Job sail'd forth, the evening bright and still,
 "No place on earth (he cry'd) like Greenwich hill!"
 Up starts a Palace, lo! th' obedient base 140
 Slopes at its foot, the woods its sides embrace,
 The silver Thames reflects its marble face. }
 Now let some whimzy, or that Dev'l within
 Which guides all those who know not what they mean }
 But give the Knight (or give his Lady) spleen; 145
 "Away, away! take all your scaffolds down,
 "For Snug's the word: My dear! we'll live in Town."

heir (Sir C. H. Williams's *Peter and my Lord Quidam*, Works, 1822, i 47). In the same poem we learn that Horace Walpole, the elder, was fawning on Sir Richard Ellys with the same purpose in view, and that Pulteney was working for the Duchess of Buckingham's money. But more notorious was Robert Nugent, who by marrying the ugly sister and heiress of James Craggs in March 1737 provided himself with a seat in parliament, the ownership of a parish in Essex, and £100,000 (DNB). "Mr Nugent" was Horace Walpole's gloss on l. 131.

138. *Sir Job*] Perhaps Sir Job may have been Sir Gregory Page Turner [Dilke]. An improbable attribution, but no better has been suggested. See Biog. App., Sir Gregory Page (Page Turner was his great-nephew).

—*Lectus genialis in aula est.*¹

Nil ait esse prius, melius nil cælibe vita: 85

Si non est, jurat bene solis esse maritis.

Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?

Quid pauper? ride: mutat cænacula, lectos,

Balnea, tonsores; conducto navigio, æquè

Nauseat ac locuples, quem ducit priva triremis. 90

Si curtatus inæquali tonsore capillos

Occurro, rides; si forte subucula pexæ

Trita subest tunicæ, vel si toga dissidet impar,

Rides: quid? mea cum pugnat Sententia secum,
Quod petiit, spernit; repetit quod nuper omisit; 95

Æstuat, & Vite disconvenit ordine toto;

Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?

Insanire putas solennia me; neque rides,

Nec Medici credis, nec Curatoris egere

A Prætoris dati? rerum Tutela mearum 100

Cum sis, & pravè sectum stomacheris ob unguem,

De te pendentis, te suspicientis, Amici.

148. *Stocken*] An old custom according to which on the wedding night the bride's stocking was thrown among the guests, it was supposed that the person hit by it would be the first of the company to be married [OED].

I do not know why Pope (or Warburton) changed the spelling, unless it was to suggest that this was an old or country custom, no longer to be found in polite society.

150. *The Fool*] No contemporary reference has been suggested; nor is it necessary to search for one, since the satire is universal.

152. *Proteus*] a sea-god who had the power of assuming any form he pleased.

156. *Japanner*] Shoe-black. A new "art," according to Gay, *Trivia*, ii 166.

At am'rous Flavio is the Stocken thrown?
 That very night he longs to lye alone.
 The Fool whose Wife elopes some thrice a quarter, 150
 For matrimonial Solace dies a martyr.
 Did ever Proteus, Merlin, any Witch,
 Transform themselves so strangely as the Rich?
 "Well, but the Poor"—the Poor have the same itch: }
 They change their weekly Barber, weekly News, 155
 Prefer a new Jannapper to their shoes,
 Discharge their Garrets, move their Beds, and run
 (They know not whither) in a Chaise and one;
 They hire their Sculler, and when once aboard,
 Grow sick, and damn the Climate—like a Lord. 160

You laugh, half Beau half Sloven if I stand,
 My Wig all powder, and all snuff my Band;
 You laugh, if Coat and Breeches strangely vary,
 White Gloves, and Linnen worthy Lady Mary!
 But when no Prelate's Lawn with Hair-shirt lin'd, 165
 Is half so incoherent as my Mind,
 When (each Opinion with the next at strife,
 One ebb and flow of follies all my Life)
 I plant, root up, I build, and then confound,
 Turn round to square, and square again to round; 170
 You never change one muscle of your face,
 You think this Madness but a common case,
 Nor once to Chanc'ry, nor to Hale apply;

148 Stocken] Stocking 1737-43. 173 Hale] Hales 1737-43.

159. Sculler] Cf. Creech's version:

Or hires a paltry Sculler for a Groat.

164. Lady Mary Wortley Montague seems to have been a bye-word for slovenliness. "The good woman . . . was up to her ears in ten thousand yards of cloth. She could have afforded to have sold Lady Mary Wortley a clean shift, of the usual coarseness she wears, for a groat halfpenny" Horace Walpole to Mann, Sept. 7, 1743.

173. Hale] The Doctor of Bedlam [P. 1737-43]. But he had died in 1728. See Biog. App.

*Ad summam, Sapiens uno minor est Jove! Dives!
Liber! honoratus! pulcher!—*

—Rex denique regum!

Præcipue sanus—

—Nisi cum pituita molesta est.

105

177. *Guide, Philosopher, and Friend*] Pope had addressed Bolingbroke by these titles in *E. on Man*, iv 390.

181. *without Title*] His name was erased from the roll of Peers in 1715.

182. *plunder'd*] In consequence of the Act of Attainder passed upon him in 1715, his estates were forfeited.

183. *follow'd*] He became the Opposition's inspiration when he returned to

g your lip, to see a Seam awry!
 s how ill I with myself agree; 175
 o my dress, my figure, not to Me.
 ny Guide, Philosopher, and Friend?
 le who loves me, and who ought to mend?
 ight to make me (what he can, or none,)
 fan divine whom Wisdom calls her own, 180
 without Title, without Fortune bless'd,
 v'n when plunder'd, honour'd while oppress'd,
 without youth, and follow'd without power,
 ne tho' exil'd, free, tho' in the Tower.
 t, that reas'ning, high, immortal Thing, 185
 s than Jove, and much above a King,
 alfin Heav'n—except (what's mighty odd)
 f Vapours clouds this Demi-god.

he was not allowed to lead it in Parliament.

Tower] This would have been applicable to Oxford, but not to who fled from England without awaiting trial.

odd] "Lord Bolingbroke is something superior to any thing I have in nature. You know I don't deal much in hyperboles; I quite at I say". Pope to Spence (p. 169).

EPILOGUE
TO THE
SATIRES.
DIALOGUE I.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight. A Dialogue Something like Horace was first published as a 16-page folio in May 1738. It was reprinted with numerous revisions a year later in an octavo volume of the collected works (1738 on the title page). A few more revisions are found in the octavo of 1740, the title being altered at the same time to *Epilogue to the Satires. Written in 1738. Dialogue I*. A revision in l. 16 was subsequently made at Warburton's request—the only revision found in the 1751 text. The present text follows the revised text of 1740 and incorporates the single revision of 1751; but in punctuation and typography it follows the first edition.

KEY TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

- 1738a = First edition, Griffith 484.
1738b = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 507.
1740 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 524.
1743 = Works, vol. ii, part 2, octavo, Griffith 584.
1751 = Works, ed. Warburton, vol. iv, Griffith 646.

EPILOGUE TO THE SATIRES. WRITTEN IN 1738. *DIALOGUE I.*

Fr.

NOR twice a twelvemonth you appear in Print,
And when it comes, the Court see nothing in't.
You grow *correct* that once with Rapture writ,
And are, besides, too *Moral* for a Wit.
Decay of Parts, alas! we all must feel—
Why now, this moment, don't I see you steal? 5
'Tis all from *Horace*: *Horace* long before ye
Said, "Tories call'd him Whig, and Whigs a Tory;"
And taught his Romans, in much better metre,
"To laugh at Fools who put their trust in *Peter*." 10

Heading] ONE THOUSAND||SEVEN HUNDRED||AND||
THIRTY EIGHT.||*DIALOGUE*.||1738*a*; ONE THOU-
SAND||SEVEN HUNDRED||AND||THIRTY EIGHT.||
DIALOGUE I.||1738*b*.

1 *Fr*] *A* 1738*a*.

7-8 1738*a* reads: 'Tis all from *Horace*: did not *Horace* say
"Lord *Fanny* spun a thousand lines a day?

9 taught his Romans] long before you 1738*a*.

10 To laugh at] Laugh at those 1738*a*.

1 *ff.* These two lines are from *Horace* [*Sat.* ii iii 1-4]; and the only lines that
are so in the whole Poem; being meant to give a handle to that which follows in
the character of an impertinent Censurer,

'Tis all from *Horace*; etc. [*P.* 1751].

Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno

Membranam poscas, scriptorum quæque retexens,

Iratus tibi, quod vini somnique benignus

Nil dignum sermone canas.

7. 'Tis all from *Horace*] Cf. *Boileau, Sat.* ix 127-30:

Mais lui, qui fait ici le régent du Parnasse,

N'est qu'un gueux revêtu des dépouilles d'Horace.

Avant lui Juvénal avait dit en latin

Qu'on est assis à l'aise aux sermons de Conn.

8. Quoted from *Sat.* ii i 68. L. 8 of the first edition (see apparatus) was quoted
from *Sat.* ii i 6.

10. Quoted with a slight alteration from *Sat.* ii i 40.

But *Horace*, Sir, was delicate, was nice;
Bubo observes, he lash'd no sort of *Vice*:
Horace would say, *Sir Billy serv'd the Crown*,
Blunt could do Bus'ness, *H—ggins knew the Town*,
 In *Sappho* touch the *Failing of the Sex*,
 In rev'rend Bishops note some *small Neglects*,
 And own, the *Spaniard* did a *waggish thing*,
 Who cropt our Ears, and sent them to the King.
 His sly, polite, insinuating stile

14 *H—ggins*] Huggins 1738b.

15 1738a reads *Sir George* of some slight Gallantries suspect.

16 Bishops] *S—n* 1738a; Sutton 1738b; *Su—n* 1740-3. some] a
 1738a. *Neglects*] *Neglect* 1738a.

12. *Bubo*] Some guilty person very fond of making such an observation [P. 1751]. By *Bubo* Pope usually intends Bubb Dodington, see l. 68 and *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 280.

13. *Sir Billy*] Yonge. See Biog. App.

14. *Blunt*] See Biog. App.

H—ggins] Formerly Jaylor of the Fleet prison, enriched himself by many exactions, for which he was tried and expelled [P. 1751]. See Biog. App., Huggins.

15. *Sappho*] see Sat. ii 83.

15. var. *Sir George*] Oxenden. See Biog. App.

16. See Apparatus. The reflections on Sir Robert Sutton here and in *Moral Es.* iii 105 (*q.v.*) were withdrawn at the instance of Warburton. The point in the allusion to Sutton's *neglects* was that when charged, as a Governor of the Charitable Corporation, with embezzling the funds, Sir Paul Methuen defended him in the House of Commons by saying that though he was guilty of the grossest neglect in suffering rogues to cheat the poor, he was innocent of fraud (Egmont, i 267). See further, *Moral Es.* iii 100n and *Donna* iv 142n.

18. *cropt our Ears*] Said to be executed by the Captain of a Spanish ship on one Jenkins a Captain of an English one. He cut off his ears, and bid him carry them to the King his master [P. 1751].

Jenkins's ear was said to have been cut off on April 9, 1731. This action was referred to in the *Gent. Mag.* the following June, when Jenkins had already laid his case before the King; but it was not until March, 1737-8, two months before this poem was published, that Jenkins appeared before a select committee of the House of Commons, which was examining complaints of British merchants touching Spanish depredations. His case helped to bring on the war with Spain. (*Polit. Hist. Eng.*, 1909, ix 358-60; Coxe, i 579-80).

Id please at Court, and make AUGUSTUS smile: 20
 artful Manager, that crept between
 Friend and Shame, and was a kind of *Screen*.
 faith your very Friends will soon besore;
 lots there are, who wish you'd jest no more—
 where's the Glory? 'twill be only thought 25
 Great man never offer'd you a Groat.
 ce Sir ROBERT—

P. See Sir ROBERT!—hum—

made 1738a. 22 Friend] Friends 1738a. 27 P.] B. 1738a.

end &c.]

Omne vaser vitum ridens Flaccus amico

Tangit, & admissus circum præcordia ludit.

.i 116]. [P. 1738a-51].

orrowed from Dryden's translation, ll. 231-4:

Unlike in method, with conceal'd design,

Did crafty *Horace* his low Numbers joyn:

And, with a sly insinuating Grace,

Laugh'd at his Friend, and look'd him in the Face.

metaphor peculiarly appropriated to a certain person in power
 a reference to Walpole's policy of opposing all Parliamentary en-
 public frauds. When the proposal for appointing a committee of
 the affairs of the South Sea Company in 1733 was defeated, certain
 recorded their protest in the Journals of the House. "Impunity of
 said, ". . . is the strongest encouragement to the repetition of the
 ces in future times, by chalking out a safe method of committing the
 ous frauds under the protection of some corrupt and all-screening
 Hervey, p. 198). *Craftsman*, No. 403 (Mar. 23, 1733-4) elaborates the
 hor for the purpose of attacking Walpole.

ts] This appellation was generally given to those in opposition to the
 ugh some of them (which our author hints at) had views too mean
 ed to deserve that name [P. 1751].

notes "Opposite this line Lord Marchmont, Pope's friend and
 rote Carteret and Pulteney, intimating that these two, after the
 ath, were desirous of modifying their opposition to the Court." See
 W. Pulteney, and Introduction, p. xxxiv.

Great man] A phrase, by common use, appropriated to the first
 1751].

ccording to Warburton, Walpole owed this back-handed compli-
 having used his influence with Fleury to procure an Abbey at

And never laugh—for all my life to come?
 Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
 Of Social Pleasure, ill-exchang'd for Pow'r; 30
 Seen him, uncumber'd with the Venal tribe,
 Smile without Art, and win without a Bribe.
 Would he oblige me? let me only find,
 He does not think me what he thinks mankind.
 Come, come, at all I laugh He laughs, no doubt, 35
 The only diff'rence is, I dare laugh out.

F. Why yes: with *Scripture* still you may be free;
 A Horse-laugh, if you please, at *Honesty*;
 A Joke on JEKYL, or some odd *Old Whig*,

31-2 Seen . . . Bribe] *add.* 1738*b*.

34 He . . . mankind] He thinks one Poet of no venal kind 1738*a*.

37 F] A 1738*a*.

Avignon for Southcote, who had been the means of saving Pope's life when he was a young man. Pope's application to Walpole seems to have been made about the year 1725 (Spence, p. 7).

29. *happier hour*] Coxe (i 755) reports that a bitter political opponent said of Walpole, "Never was a man in private life more beloved: And his enemies allow no man did ever in private life deserve it more."

31. These two verses were originally in the poem, though omitted in all the first editions [P. 1751]. This addition is equivocal, as Pope, by his note, would seem to admit; for it was Walpole's system of bribery which the Opposition and Pope himself (l. 160) were readiest to attack. On reintroducing the couplet, Pope was forced to revise l. 34 so as to avoid repetition (see apparatus).

34. Alluding to the political maxim attributed to him, *All men have their price*. Coxe points out (i 757) that this is a perversion of his comment upon certain declamatory "patriots": *All those men have their price*.

37. Pope is undoubtedly tilting at Walpole throughout this paragraph.

39. *Jekyl*] Sir Joseph Jekyl, Master of the Rolls, a true Whig in his principles, and a man of the utmost probity. He sometimes voted against the Court, which drew upon him the laugh here described of ONE who bestowed it equally upon Religion and Honesty. He died a few months after the publication of this poem. [P. 1751]. In spite of the loyal support he gave to Walpole, Jekyll spoke against the Court party in the matter of the Marlborough election petition (1735), and was the occasion of its defeat. His action angered the Queen, who, writes Hervey, "was always cajoling, always abusing, always hoping to manage [him],

Who never chang'd his Principle, or Wig: 40
 A Patriot is a Fool in ev'ry age,
 Whom all Lord Chamberlains allow the Stage:
 These nothing hurts; they keep their Fashion still,
 And wear their strange old Virtue as they will.

If any ask you, "Who's the Man, so near 45
 "His Prince, that writes in Verse, and has his Ear?
 Why answer *LYTTELTON*, and I'll engage
 The worthy Youth shall ne'er be in a rage:
 But were his Verses vile, his Whisper base,
 You'd quickly find him in Lord *Fanny's* case. 50
Sejanus, *Wolsey*, hurt not honest *FLEURY*,

51 *Sejanus*, *Wolsey*] *Ægysthus*, *Verres* 1738a.

and always finding she was deceived in [him]" (*Memoirs*, p. 419). This passage led Croker to suppose that by "ONE" in the note above Pope meant the Queen; but as EC points out, the context suggests that Walpole was intended.

Old Whig] the italics emphasize the distinction from the government's supporters.

40. *or Wig*] Alluding to the change of fashion in periwigs, due in the first place to officers in the French army, who endeavoured to overcome the inconvenience of wearing a full-bottomed wig, when riding or fighting, by tying back the long side-curles with ribbons (see Köhler's *History of Costume*, trs. A. K. Dallas, 1928, p. 332). The new fashion spread to England and was adopted by the younger generation, as the frontispiece to Curll's publication, *The School of Venus* (1739), shows (reproduced by F. W. Fairholt in his *Costume in England*, 1846, p. 367). Jekyll clung to the older fashion. This we know from Lord Mansfield's comment on hearing that Jekyll had bequeathed £20,000 to the Commissioners of the National Debt to be applied as a sinking fund, "He might as well have attempted to stop the middle arch of Blackfriars Bridge with his full-bottomed wig" (DNB).

42. This reflects upon the act carried in the previous year (1737), which provided that no play could be publicly acted without the licence of the Lord Chamberlain.

47. George Lyttelton, Secretary to the Prince of Wales, distinguished both for his writings and speeches in the spirit of Liberty [P. 1751]. See Biog. App.

50. *Lord Fanny*] Hervey. See *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, ll. 319, 356, 357.

51. *Sejanus*, *Wolsey*] The one the wicked minister of Tiberius; the other, of Henry VIII. The writers against the Court usually bestowed these and other

But well may put some Statesmen in a fury.

Laugh then at any, but at Fools or Foes;
 These you but anger, and you mend not those:
 Laugh at your Friends, and if your Friends are sore, 55
 So much the better, you may laugh the more.
 To Vice and Folly to confine the jest,
 Sets half the World, God knows, against the rest;
 Did not the Sneer of more impartial men
 At Sense and Virtue, balance all agen. 60
 Judicious Wits spread wide the Ridicule,
 And charitably comfort Knave and Fool.

P. Dear Sir, forgive the Prejudice of Youth:
 Adieu Distinction, Satire, Warmth, and Truth!
 Come harmless *Characters* that no one hit, 65
 Come *Henley's* Oratory, *Osborn's* Wit!
 The Honey dropping from *Favonio's* tongue,

54 you mend] amend 1738b. 63 P] B 1738a.

67 *Favonio's*] *Ty—l's* 1738ab.

odious names on the Minister, without distinction, and in the most injurious manner. See *Dial.* II v 137 [P. 1751].

In the first edition, Pope used the examples of Aegisthus, Clytemnestra's paramour during Agamemnon's absence at Troy, and Verres, the tyrannical governor of Sicily prosecuted by Cicero.

Floury Cardinal: and Minister to Louis XV. It was a Patriot-fashion, at that time, to cry up his wisdom and honesty [P. 1751]. See Biog. App.

Contemporaries would inevitably recall the occasion in 1721 when the Duke of Wharton had compared Stanhope with Sejanus, and Stanhope had retorted with such violence of indignation that he broke a blood-vessel and died the following day. But in view of Pope's admiration for Stanhope's conduct (*Dia.* II 80), it is scarcely conceivable that he can have been referring to this. Walpole had been obliquely compared with Wolsey, Verres, and Sejanus in *The Craftsman* (Nos. 8, 259, 413).

66. *Henley* . . . *Osborn*] See them in their places in the Dunciad [P. 1751].

Dunciad B III 199, II 312. For *Osborne*, see Biog. App., Pitt.

67, var. *Ty—I*] i.e. Tyrconnel. See Biog. App., Brownlow, John, Viscount Tyrconnel. Croker supposes that *Favonio* may have been suggested to Pope

The Flow'rs of *Bubo*, and the Flow of *Y—ng*!
 The gracious Dew of Pulpit Eloquence;
 And all the well-whipt Cream of Courtly Sense, 70
 That first was *H—vy*'s, *F—*'s next, and then
 The *S—tc*'s, and then *H—vy*'s once agen.
 O come, that easy *Ciceronian* stile,

68 *Bubo*, and] *Bub—ton*, 1738*ab*.

because Tyrconnel is in the *west* of Ireland, but it is unnecessary to assume that Pope still had Tyrconnel in mind.

68. Bubb Dodington and Sir W. Yonge. Cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 280.

69. Alludes to some court sermons, and florid panegyric speeches; particularly one very full of puerilities and flatteries; which afterwards got into an address in the same pretty style; and was lastly served up in an Epitaph, between Latin and English, published by its author [P. 1751]. Henry Fox moved the address of condolence on the Queen's death sent by the Commons to the King on January 24, 1737-8 (*Parl. Hist.* x 367). Pope evidently believed (l. 71) that Hervey wrote Fox's speech. It became "The Se[na]te's" on its acceptance by the Commons. It was afterwards served up again in Hervey's Latin epitaph. Pope was mistaken, or pretended to be; he admits doubt about the authorship in *Dia.* ii 166-70 (July) and, perhaps offensively (as Croker suggests), reversed the order in an erratum to l. 71 published in a later edition (August; Griffith 498). This erratum was not intended to be taken seriously, for it was not subsequently observed.

Dew] "Dr. Gilbert, afterwards Archbishop of York, affected to cry in the pulpit, preaching on the death of the Queen" (Walpole's note to *Dia.* ii 164).

71-2. See previous notes.

73-5. Pope refers to Hervey's Latin epitaph on the Queen, written on a hint from the King, "to please a fond Husband, not an uninterested Reader" (Hervey to Middleton, February 4, 1738; B.M. Adds MS. 32, 458, f. 24^v). The King expressed his approval and allowed Hervey to submit it to Dr Freind, the late Headmaster of Westminster School, for correction. The corrected copy was passed about and got into print without Hervey's knowledge. Middleton's commendations were reserved; he had never yet seen any faultless modern Latin, but "if it be y^e L—p's, I admire it; if Dr Friend's c^d animadvert upon it." He sent his corrections on February 12 (f. 27). When Pope's poem was published, Middleton expressed his surprise to Hervey at finding his own name there "at it's full length . . . for I had always receiv'd civilities from him; but he does me y^e greatest honour, when he treats me as Your Lordship's friend; I cannot guess y^e reason of his joining me wth Bland; he has certainly paired us very unequally; one, who receives not a penny either from Church or State, wth y^e best beneficed Clergyman in y^e Kingdom" (f. 45^v). The offensiveness of these

So *Latin*, yet so *English* all the while,
 As, tho' the Pride of *Middleton* and *Bland*, 75
 All Boys may read, and Girls may understand!
 Then might I sing without the least Offence,
 And all I sung should be the *Nation's Sense*:
 Or teach the melancholy Muse to mourn,
 Hang the sad Verse on *CAROLINA's* Urn, 80
 And hail her passage to the Realms of Rest,
 All Parts perform'd, and *all* her Children blest!
 So—Satire is no more—I feel it die—

79-82 Or . . . blest] *add.* 1738*b*. 82 *all*] *all* 1738*b*.

lines would be aggravated by the reference to the *Life of Cicero* at which he was then working. Pope hints that Middleton and Bland collaborated to write Hervey's epitaph for him. Bland's name may have been used either because Pope needed the rhyme, or (since he had taught Fox at *Luton*) to suggest that Fox and Hervey had collaborated in the epitaph as well as in the address. See further, *Biog. App.*

78. *Nation's Sense*] The cant of Politics at that time [Warburton]. EC quotes from the *Marchmont Papers*, ii 124: "The nation and the House of Commons are very different things . . . it may very often happen, that the sense of the one is very different from the voice of the other." See OED, § 186.

80. *Carolina*] Queen consort to King George II. She died in 1737. Her death gave occasion, as is observed above, to many indiscreet and mean performances unworthy of her memory, whose last moments manifested the utmost courage and resolution [P. 1751].

Warburton attempts to gloss the equivocation of the last clause and the sarcasm of l. 82 by quoting a letter from Pope to Allen (November 24, 1737) in which he mentions the Queen's death with deep respect.

82. Contemporary gossip reported that the Queen had died without taking the last sacrament and without being reconciled to the Prince of Wales. These reports were almost certainly correct. Lord Hervey, who described the Queen's last illness in great detail, mentions nothing of the sacrament and reports that the Queen said to the King, "I am so far from desiring to see him [the Prince], that nothing but your absolute commands should ever make me consent to it" (*Memoirs*, p. 888). Ford gave Swift a similar account on November 22, but added, "nor could the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he gave her the sacrament, prevail on her, though she said, she heartily forgave the prince." Ford was mistaken about the sacrament; the Bishops of Lichfield and Bristol assured the Earl of Egmont that the Archbishop had not given the sacrament, "the service being longer than she could bear to hear read" (*Diary*, ii 446-50).

No *Gazeteer* more innocent than I!
 And let, a God's-name, ev'ry Fool and Knave 85
 Be grac'd thro' Life, and flatter'd in his Grave.

F. Why so? if Satire know its Time and Place,
 You still may lash the Greatest—in Disgrace:
 For Merit will by turns forsake them all;
 Would you know when? exactly when they fall. 90
 But let all Satire in all Changes spare
 Immortal *S-k*, and grave *De-re!*
 Silent and soft, as Saints remove to Heav'n,
 All Tyes dissolv'd, and ev'ry Sin forgiv'n,
 These, may some gentle, ministerial Wing 95
 Receive, and place for ever near a King!
 There, where no Passion, Pride, or Shame transport,
 Lull'd with the sweet *Nepenthe* of a Court;
 There, where no Father's, Brother's, Friend's Disgrace
 Once break their Rest, or stir them from their Place; 100
 But past the Sense of human Miseries,
 All Tears are wip'd for ever from all Eyes;
 No Check is known to blush, no Heart to throb,
 Save when they lose a Question, or a Job.

P. Good Heav'n forbid, that I shou'd blast their Glory,

87 *F.*] *A.* 1738*a.* know] knows 1751. 105 *P.*] *B.* 1738*a.*

84. *Gazeteer*] a journalist appointed and paid by the government. Pope writes to Lord Marchmont, June 22, 1740, "The very gazeteer is more innocent and better bred. When he abuses the brave or insults the dead he lays the fault another day upon his printer."

92. *S-k . . . De-re*] A title given that Lord by King James II. He was of the Bedchamber to King William; he was so to King George I. he was so to King George II. This Lord was very skilful in all the forms of the House, in which he discharged himself with great gravity [*P.* 1751]. See Biog. App., Douglas (Earl of Selkirk) and West (Earl De La Warr).

102. *Isaiah* xxv 8, already imitated by Pope in *Messiah*, 46.

104. *lose a Question*] i.e. when they have a motion or proposal rejected by parliament.

Who know how like Whig-Ministers to Tory, 106
 And when three Sov'reigns dy'd, could scarce be vext,
 Consid'ring what a Gracious Prince was next.
 Have I in silent wonder seen such thing,
 As Pride in Slaves, and Avarice in Kings, 110
 And at a Peer, or Peeress shall I fret,
 Who starves a Sister, or forswears a Debt?
Virtue, I grant you, is an empty boast;
 But shall the Dignity of *Vice* be lost?
 Ye Gods! shall *Cibber's* Son, without rebuke 115
 Swear like a Lord? or a *Rich* out-whore a Duke?
 A Fav'rite's *Porter* with his Master vie,
 Be brib'd as often, and as often lie?
 Shall *Ward* draw Contracts with a Statesman's skill?
 Or *Japhet* pocket, like his Grace, a Will? 120

112 Sister] Mother 1738a.

119-20 Shall . . . Will?] *add.* 1738b.

108. *Gracious Prince*] An ironical commendation of George II. At the same time this line seriously implies the hopes which the Opposition based on Frederick, Prince of Wales, then at enmity with his father (see l. 82n, and Dia. ii 92n).

112. Lady Mary. See *Sob. Adv.* 21n, 53n.

113. A satirical ambiguity—either that those *starve who have it*, or that those who *boast of it, have it not*: and both together (he insinuates) make up the present state of *modern virtue* [Warburton].

115. *Cibber's Son . . . Rich*] Two Players: look for them in the *Dunciad* [P. 1751] *Dunciad*, Biii 142, 261; and see Biog. App., Theophilus Cibber, John Rich.

119-21. *Ward . . . Japhet . . . Bond . . . Peter*] See *Moral Es.* iii 20, 86, 100, 123, and Biog. App., Japhet Crook, Peter Walter, etc.

120. *pocket . . . Will*] Pope alludes here and in l. 122 to Archbishop Wake's action in handing George I's will to his son, who suppressed it. George II's motives have been entirely misunderstood until recent years. It seems that in his will George I had attempted to provide for the dissociation of Hanover and England after Prince Frederick's death. "The will was unanimously pronounced by George II's Hanoverian ministers to be illegal and invalid, and after much discussion, including consultation with Cardinal Fleury, the new King decided, with the concurrence of both his Governments, to suppress a document which had no legal validity, and whose publication would serve no useful purpose, while it might easily lead to obvious international, national, and family complications" (*Hervey Memoirs*, Pref. p. xxxv).

Is it for *Bond* or *Peter* (paltry Things!)
 To pay their Debts, or keep their Faith like Kings?
 If *Blount* dispatch'd himself, he play'd the man,
 And so may'st Thou, Illustrious *Passeran*!
 But shall a *Printer*, weary of his life, 125
 Learn from their Books to hang himself and Wife?
 This, this, my friend, I cannot, must not bear;
 Vice thus abus'd, demands a Nation's care;
 This calls the Church to deprecate our Sin,
 And hurls the Thunder of the Laws on *Gin*. 130

Let modest *Foster*, if he will, excell
 Ten Metropolitans in preaching well;

121 *Bond*] *W*—rd 1738a. 123 dispatch'd] destroy'd 1738a.
 127 must] will 1738a. 131 modest] humble 1738a.

123. *Blount*] Author of a [n impious and foolish add 1751] Book intitled [called 1751], *The Oracles of Reason*, [so 1738 43, 1751 adds] who being in love with a near kinswoman of his, and rejected, gave himself a stab in the arm, as pretending to kill himself, of the consequence of which he really died [P.]. See Biog. App.

124. *Passeran*] Author of another, called a *Philosophical Discourse on Death* [P. 1738b-1743]. See Biog. App., *Radicati*.

125. a *Printer*] A Fact that happened in London a few years past. The unhappy man left behind him a paper justifying his action by the reasonings of some of these authors [P. 1751].

The printer was one Richard Smith; he and his wife were found "hanging in their Chamber" on April 18, 1732. Smith had left behind a letter, explaining his action, which was printed in *Gent. Mag.* ii 723 [Wilkes].

130. *Gin*] A spirituous liquor, the exorbitant use of which had almost destroyed the lowest rank of the People till it was restrained by an act of Parliament in 1736 [P. 1751].

Pope's statement is not exaggerated, but the Act of 1736 proved too severe; for though it effected some restraint at first, illegal sales and riots followed. The Act was modified in 1743, but the orgy of gin-drinking was not successfully checked until after 1751. See D. George, *London Life in the XVIIIth Century*, 1930, pp. 27-42.

132. "I used to suspect that the phrase of *preaching well* so unlike the concise accuracy of Pope, would not have been hazarded by him, if some eminent writer, tho' perhaps of an older age and less correct taste than his own, had not set the example. But I had no doubt left when I happened on the following

A simple Quaker, or a Quaker's Wife,
 Out-do *Landaffe*, in Doctrine—yea, in Life;
 Let humble ALLEN, with an aukward Shame, 135
 Do good by stealth, and blush to find it Fame.
Virtue may chuse the high or low Degree,
 'Tis just alike to Virtue, and to me;
 Dwell in a Monk, or light upon a King,
 She's still the same, belov'd, contented thing. 140
Vice is undone, if she forgets her Birth,
 And stoops from Angels to the Dregs of Earth:

134 *Landaffe*] *L—d—ffe* 1738a. 135 humble] low-born 1738a

couplet in Mr. Waller.

Your's sounds aloud, and tells us you excell
 No less in courage, than in singing well.

Poem to Sir W. D'Avenant.

Our great poet is more happy in the application of these rhymes on another occasion [*E. on C.* 15]. (R. Hurd, *A Letter to Mr. Mason*, 1717, p. 69).

133. a *Quaker's Wife*] Mary Drummond, see Biog. App. 10 the world at large she was "Mrs Drummond"; Pope could not be expected to know that she was unmarried.

134. *Landaffe*] A poor Bishoprick in Wales, as poorly supplied [*P.* 1751].

The bishop was John Harris, see Biog. App. Bishop Beaw reckoned that in 1699 the see of Llandaff was worth £230 p.a. Its value increased by some £300 within the next sixty years, but its poverty was still exceptional. In 1760 St Asaph was worth £1,400 and Durham £6,000. See N. Sykes, *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century*, 1934.

135. See textual note. Pope wrote to Allen on April 28, 1738. "Pray tell me if you have any objection to my putting your name into a poem of mine (incidentally, not at all going out of the way for it,) provided I say something of you, which most people would take ill, for example, that you are no man of high birth or quality? You must be perfectly free with me on this, as on any, nay, on every other occasion." Announcing on Nov. 2, that he was revising his work, he wrote to Allen, "I have found a virtue in you more than I certainly knew before, till I had made experience of it, I mean humility. I must therefore in justice to my own conscience of it, bear testimony to it, and change the epithet I first gave you of *low-born* to *humble*. I shall take care to do you the justice to tell everybody, this change was not made at yours, or at any friend's request for you, but my own knowledge you merited it." To allow for this, *humble Foster* (l. 131) was changed to *modest*. R. Graves, who had seen a picture of the house of Allen's father, wrote "This house seems to have been the residence of a gentleman's family . . . and by no means warrants Mr. Pope's epithet of 'low born Allen'" (*The Triflers*, 1806, p. 62). [JS].

But 'tis the *Fall* degrades her to a Whore;
 Let *Greatness* own her, and she's mean no more:
 Her Birth, her Beauty, Crowds and Courts confess, 145
 Chaste Matrons praise her, and grave Bishops bless:
 In golden Chains the willing World she draws,
 And hers the Gospel is, and hers the Laws:
 Mounts the Tribunal, lifts her scarlet head,
 And sees pale Virtue carted in her stead! 150
 Lo! at the Wheels of her Triumphal Car,
 Old *England's* Genius, rough with many a Scar,
 Dragg'd in the Dust! his Arms hang idly round,
 His Flag inverted trails along the ground!
 Our Youth, all liv'ry'd o'er with foreign Gold, 155
 Before her dance; behind her crawl the Old!
 See thronging Millions to the Pagod run,
 And offer Country, Parent, Wife, or Son!
 Hear her black Trumpet thro' the Land proclaim,
 That "Not to be corrupted is the Shame." 160
 In Soldier, Churchman, Patriot, Man in Pow'r,
 'Tis Av'rice all, Ambition is no more!
 See, all our Nobles begging to be Slaves!
 See, all our Fools aspiring to be Knaves!
 The Wit of Cheats, the Courage of a Whore, 165
 Are what ten thousand envy and adore.
 All, all look up, with reverential Awe,
 On Crimes that scape, or triumph o'er the Law:
 While Truth, Worth, Wisdom, daily they decry—
 "Nothing is Sacred now but Villany." 170

Yet may this Verse (if such a Verse remain)
 Show there was one who held it in disdain.

FINIS.

169 they] we 1738a.

150. *carted*] Carting, or exhibiting from a cart, was a punishment of prostitutes and procuresses [Croker].

154. A sneer at Walpole's policy of peace at any price [EG].

EPILOGUE

TO THE

SATIRES.

DIALOGUE II.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight. Dialogue II was first published as a 16-page folio in July 1738. Several small revisions were made when the poem was reprinted in an octavo volume of the collected works in 1739 (1738 on the title page), and a few more were made for the octavo of 1740, when the title was altered to *Epilogue to the Satires. Written in 1738. Dialogue II*. There are no later revisions of any importance.¹ The present edition adopts the revised text of 1740, but follows the punctuation and typography of the first edition. The abbreviations used in the critical apparatus are the same as those used in the apparatus of the first dialogue, except that 1738a represents Griffith 191.

1. A proper name (l. 239) abbreviated in the editions of Pope's lifetime is printed in full in 1731 and in the present edition.

EPILOGUE TO THE SATIRES. WRITTEN IN 1738. *DIALOGUE II.*

Fr. **T**is all a Libel—*Paxton* (Sir) will say.
 P. Not yet, my Friend! to-morrow 'faith it may; }
 And for that very cause I print to day. }
 How shou'd I fret, to mangle ev'ry line,
 In rev'rence to the Sins of *Thirty-nine!* 5
 Vice with such Giant-strides comes on amain,
 Invention strives to be before in vain;
 Feign what I will, and paint it e'er so strong,
 Some rising Genius sins up to my Song.
 F. Yet none but you by Name the Guilty lash; 10
 Ev'n *Guthry* saves half *Newgate* by a Dash.

Heading] ONE THOUSAND||SEVEN HUNDRED||AND||
THIRTY EIGHT.||*DIALOGUE II.*||1738.

1 *Fr.*] *A.* 1738*a*; and so throughout; *Paxton*] *P*—*xt*—*n* 1738*a*.

2 *P.*] *B.* 1738*a*; and so throughout.

1. *Paxton* was employed to read all new publications and report libels on the government to the Secretaries of State. See *Biog.* App.

2. *Pattison* suggests that this is an allusion to the Playhouse Act (see *Dia.* i 42*n*) which was believed by the Opposition to be tending towards a restraint on the liberty of the press. *Chesterfield* spoke to this effect in the House of Lords.

10. *by Name*] "I would indeed [manifest my disdain and abhorrence of vice in my writings] with more restrictions, and less personally; it is more agreeable to my nature, which those who know it not are greatly mistaken in. But general satire in times of general vice has no force and is no punishment: people have ceased to be ashamed of it when so many are joined with them; and it is only by hunting one or two from the herd that any examples can be made. If a man writ all his life against the collective body of the banditti, or against lawyers, would it do the least good, or lessen the body? But if some are hung up, or pilloried, it may prevent others. And in my low station, with no other power than this, I hope to deter, if not to reform." *Pope* to *Arbuthnot*, Aug. 2, 1734 (*Croker's* transcript of the MS.). See Introduction, p. xxf.

11. *Guthry*] The Ordinary of *Newgate*, who publishes the *Memoirs* of the Malefactors, [*so* 1738*a*–43; 1751 *adds*] and is often prevailed upon to be so tender of their reputation, as to set down no more than the initials of their name [*P.*]. Confessions were extorted by threats (*Egmont*, i 11).

Spare then the Person, and expose the Vice.

P. How Sir! not damn the Sharper, but the Dice?
Come on then Satire! gen'ral, unconfin'd,
Spread thy broad wing, and sowze on all the Kind. 15
Ye Statesmen, Priests, of one Religion all!
Ye Tradesmen vile, in Army, Court, or Hall!
Ye Rev'rend Atheists!—*Fr.* Scandal! name them, Who?

P. Why that's the thing you bid me not to do.
Who starv'd a Sister, who forswore a Debt, 20
I never nam'd—the Town's enquiring yet.
The pois'ning Dame—*Fr.* You mean— *P.* I don't. —*Fr.*
You do.

P. See! now I keep the Secret, and not you.
The bribing Statesman—*Fr.* Hold! too high you go.

P. The brib'd Elector—*Fr.* There you stoop too low. 25
P. I fain wou'd please you, if I knew with what:
Tell me, which Knave is lawful Game, which not?
Must great Offenders, once escap'd the Crown,
Like Royal Harts, be never more run down?
Admit your Law to spare the Knight requires; 30
As Beasts of Nature may we hunt the Squires?
Suppose I censure—you know what I mean—
To save a Bishop, may I name a Dran?

Fr. A Dean, Sir? no: his Fortune is not made,
You hurt a man that's rising in the Trade. 35

P. If not the Tradesman who set up to day,
Much less the 'Prentice who to morrow may.

20 Sister] Mother 1738a. 36 set] sets 1738a.

12. Advice already tendered by Young in *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope*, ii 181:

If Satire charms, strike faults, but spare the man.

EC notes that the idea is imitated from Martial, x 33:

Hunc servare modum nostri novere libelli,

Parcere personis, dicere de vitiis.

15. *sowze*] used of a hawk, swooping down upon its prey.

20. Referring to *Dia.* i 112.

22. *The pois'ning Dame*] Pope is perhaps referring to *Sat.* ii 81.

Down, down, proud Satire! tho' a Realm be spoil'd,
 Arraign no mightier Thief than wretched *Wild*,
 Or if a Court or Country's made a Job, 40
 Go drench a Pick-pocket, and join the Mob.

But Sir, I beg you, for the Love of Vice!
 The matter's weighty, pray consider twice:
 Have you less Pity for the needy Cheat,
 The poor and friendless Villain, than the Great? 45
 Alas! the small Discredit of a Bribe
 Scarce hurts the Lawyer, but undoes the Scribe.
 Then better sure it Charity becomes
 To tax Directors, who (thank God) have Plums;
 Still better, Ministers; or if the thing 50
 May pinch ev'n there—why lay it on a King.

Fr. Stop! stop!

P. Must Satire, then, nor *rise*, nor *fall*?
 Speak out, and bid me blame no Rogues at all.

Fr. Yes, strike that *Wild*, I'll justify the blow.

P. Strike? why the man was hang'd ten years ago: 55
 Who now that obsolete Example fears?
 Ev'n *Peter* trembles only for his Ears.

Fr. What always *Peter*? *Peter* thinks you mad,
 You make men desp'rate if they once are bad:
 Else might he take to Virtue some years hence— 60

38 Realm] Land 1738*ab*.

39. Jonathan Wild [30 1738*a*-43; 1751 *add*], a famous Thief, and Thief-Impeacher, who was at last caught in his own train and hanged [P.]. Wild had become synonymous with Walpole in political journalism (W. L. Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, i 408 ff). Pope no doubt assumed that his readers would recognize the equivalence.

41. *drench a Pick-pocket*] Pickpockets were sometimes ducked and sometimes pumped upon [Croker].

49. *Plums*] see *Sat.* II i 103*n*.

57. *Peter* had, the year before this, narrowly escaped the Pillory for forgery: and got off with a severe rebuke only from the bench [P. 1751]. *Peter* Walter.

P. As S—k, if he lives, will love the PRINCE.

Fr. Strange spleen to S—k!

P. Do I wrong the Man?

God knows, I praise a Courtier where I can.

When I confess, there *is* who feels for Faine,

And melts to Goodness, need I SCARBROW name? 65

Pleas'd let me own, in *Esher's* peaceful Grove

(Where *Kent* and Nature vye for PELHAM'S LOVE)

The Scene, the Master, opening to my view,

I sit and dream I see my CRAGS anew!

Ev'n in a Bishop I can spy Desert; 70

Secker is decent, *Rundel* has a Heart,

Manners with Candour are to *Benson* giv'n,

61. Charles Douglas, Earl of Selkirk. See Pope's note to *Dia.* i 92 and Biog. App.

Much as Selkirk hates the Prince now, he will love him when the Prince succeeds to the throne, because then it will pay him. Similarly, not until it pays him will Peter love virtue.

65. *Scarbro'* Earl of; and Knight of the Garter, whose personal attachments to the king appeared from his steady adherence to the royal interest, after his resignation of his great employment of Master of the Horse, and whose known honour and virtue made him esteemed by all parties [P. 1751].

See Biog. App., Lurnley. Hervey, who states the reasons for Scarborough's resignation, also witnesses to his steady adherence to the court party (pp. 247-50).

66. The House and Gardens of *Esher* in *Surrey*, [so 1738a 43, which continue design'd by Mr. *Kent*. 1751 omits this clause and adds] belonging to the Honourable Mr. Pelham, Brother of the Duke of Newcastle. The author could not have given a more amiable idea of his Character than in comparing him to Mr. Craggs [P. 1751].

Such praise for a ministerial Whig is exceptional, and nothing is known of Pope's acquaintance with the Pelhams to account for it; but in 1738 the opposition had some hopes of their defection. There had been a misunderstanding between Walpole and Newcastle, and Bolingbroke had written to Wyndham urging him to take advantage of this and form a coalition with them (Coxe, iii 507).

71. *decent*] Pope intended to commend Secker's moderation, the most conspicuous trait in his character. The use of *decent* in the sense of *passable* was rare at this time. Berkeley's "the regular decent life of a virtuous man," quoted by OED, is the best gloss upon this passage. Cf. *Od.* iv i 12.

To *Berkley*, ev'ry Virtue under Heav'n.

But does the Court a worthy Man remove?

That instant, I declare, he has my Love: 75

I shun his Zenith, court his mild Decline;

Thus *SOMMERS* once, and *HALIFAX* were mine.

Oft in the clear, still Mirrour of Retreat,

I study'd *SHREWSBURY*, the wise and great:

CARLETON's calm Sense, and *STANHOPE*'s noble Flame,

Compar'd, and knew their gen'rous End the same: 81

How pleasing *ATTERBURY*'s softer hour!

How shin'd the Soul, unconquer'd in the Tow'r!

How can I *PULT'NEY*, *CHESTERFIELD* forget,

While *Roman* Spirit charms, and *Attic* Wit: 85

74-5. "It looks generous enough to be always on the side of the distressed, and my patrons of the other party may expect great panegyrics from me [when] they come to be impeached . . . To compliment those who are dead in law, is as much above the imputation of flattery, as . . . to compliment those who are really dead." Pope to Jervas, 1715 (EC viii 15).

77. *Sommers*] John Lord Sommers died in 1716. He had been Lord Keeper in the reign of William III. who took from him the seals in 1700. The author had the honour of knowing him in 1706. A faithful, able, and incorrupt minister; who, to the qualities of a consummate statesman, added those of a man of Learning and Politeness [P. 1751].

Halifax] A peer, no less distinguished by his love of letters than his abilities in Parliament. He was disgraced in 1710, on the Change of Q. Anne's ministry [P. 1751]. See Biog. App., Charles Montagu.

79. *Shrewsbury*] Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, had been Secretary of state, Ambassador in France, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Treasurer. He several times quitted his employments, and was often recalled. He died in 1718 [P. 1751].

80. *Carleton*] Hen. Boyle, Lord Carleton (nephew of the famous Robert Boyle) who was Secretary of state under William III. and President of the Council under Q. Anne [P. 1751]. Pope's memory played him false about Carleton's official posts; see Biog. App.

Stanhope] James Earl Stanhope. A Nobleman of equal courage, spirit, and learning. General in Spain, and Secretary of state [P. 1751].

85. The "Roman Spirit" of Pulteney's speeches had already been commended by Whitehead in *The State Dives*, 1733, ll. 41-6. Secretly, Pope was suspicious of Pulteney's policy; see *Dia.* i 24n; 1740, 9, 77; and Biog. App.

ARGYLE, the State's whole Thunder born to wield,
 And shake alike the Senate and the Field:
 Or WYNDHAM, just to Freedom and the Throne,
 The Master of our Passions, and his own.
 Names, which I long have lov'd, nor lov'd in vain, 90
 Rank'd with their Friends, not number'd with their
 Train;
 And if yet higher the proud List should end,
 Still let me say! No Follower, but a Friend.

Yet think not Friendship only prompts my Lays;
 I follow *Virtue*, where she shines, I praise, 95
 Point she to Priest or Elder, Whig or Tory,
 Or round a Quaker's Beaver cast a Glory.
 I never (to my sorrow I declare)
 Din'd with the MAN of ROSS, or my LORD MAY'R.
 Some, in their choice of Friends (nay, look not grave) 100

88 just to] arm'd for 1738a.

86. *Argyle*] See Biog. App., John Campbell, Duke of Argyle. By placing Argyle with three other members of the Opposition, Pope was expressing the Opposition's hope of political support from one who had recently begun to show hostility to the ministry.

88. Sir William Wyndham, Chancellor of the Exchequer under Queen Anne, made early a considerable figure; but since a much greater both by his ability and eloquence, joined with the utmost judgment and temper [P. 1751]. See Biog. App. The original *arm'd* was an unsuitable description for one who consistently maintained that the liberties and constitution of England were menaced by a "standing army."

92. *yet higher*] An allusion to his friendship with Frederick, Prince of Wales. The Prince had visited him at Twickenham in October 1735 (EC viii 351); on May 17, 1739, Pope wrote to Swift that the Prince was showing him "a distinction beyond any merit or pretence on my part" and had given him "some marble heads of poets" for his library, and some urns for his garden. See also *Ep.* xi 120n.

95. *I follow Virtue*] See *Sat.* xi 105n, 121.

99. *The Man of Ross*] John Kyrle, the philanthropist, previously commended by Pope in *Moral Es.* iii 250 ff.

My Lord May'r] Sir John Barnard [P. 1738a-43]. See Biog. App.

Have still a secret Byass to a Knave:
To find an honest man, I beat about,
And love him, court him, praise him, in or out.

Fr. Then why so few commended?

P. Not so fierce;

Find you the Virtue, and I'll find the Verse. 105

But random Praise—the Task can ne'er be done,

Each Mother asks it for her Booby Son,

Each Widow asks it for the Best of Men,

For him she weeps, and him she weds agen.

Praise cannot stoop, like Satire, to the Ground; 110

The Number may be hang'd, but not be crown'd.

Enough for half the Greatest of these days

To 'scape my Censure, not expect my Praise:

Are they not rich? what more can they pretend?

Dare they to hope a Poet for their Friend? 115

What RICHELIEU wanted, LOUIS scarce could gain,

107. Horace Walpole was probably right in supposing that Pope had in mind the Duchess of Buckingham's request (which he granted) for an epitaph on her son. See vol. vi.

108. *Each Widow*] There are two candidates. Lord Hailes told Malone that Pope had Rowe's widow in mind, who married Col. Alexander Deanes in 1724 (Prior's *Life of Malone*, 1860, p. 253). Horace Walpole suggested Mrs Nugent. This is more plausible. She was Craggs's sister and had married John Knight for her second husband. He died in 1733 and his widow seems to have begged an epitaph from Pope, which he sent her in 1736 (EC ix 435, 455). In the following year she married Mr Nugent. See *Ep.* 11130n.

111. *The Number*] A classicism; Gr. ἀριθμός, Lat. *numerus*, those who count as population and nothing beyond. E.g. Horace, *Ep.* 11127:

Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati.

[Pattison].

112–5. *Enough . . . Friend*] H. Walpole took this passage to refer to the story, also told by Warburton (Spence, p. 308), that Alderman Barber offered Pope four or five thousand pounds if he would mention him with commendation in his writings.

116. *Louis scarce could gain*] By this expression finely insinuating, that the great *Boileau* always falls below himself in those passages where he flatters his Master [Warburton].

And what young AMMON wish'd, but wish'd in vain.
 No Pow'r the Muse's Friendship can command;
 No Pow'r, when Virtue claims it, can withstand:
 To *Cato*, *Virgil* pay'd one honest line; 120
 O let my Country's Friends illumin mine!
 —What are you thinking? *Fr.* Faith, the thought's no Sin,
 I think your Friends are out, and would be in.
P. If merely to come in, Sir, they go out,
 The way they take is strangely round about. 125
Fr. They too may be corrupted, you'll allow?
P. I only call those Knaves who are so now.
 Is that too little? Come then, I'll comply—
 Spirit of *Arnall*! aid me while I lye.
 COBHAM's a Coward, POLWARTH is a Slave, 130
 And LYTTLETON a dark, designing Knave,
 St. JOHN has ever been a wealthy Fool—
 But let me add, Sir ROBERT's mighty dull,

117. A recollection, perhaps, of Petrarch's sonnet:

Giunto Alessandro a la famosa tomba
 Del fero Achille sospirando disse
 O fortunato che si chiara tromba
 Trovasti e chi di te si alto scrisse.

It is quoted by E.K. in a gloss to *The Shepheardes Calender*, October, l. 65, and referred to by Spenser in *The Ruines of Time*, ll. 432-4.

120. *one honest line*] "The *Æneid* was evidently a party piece: as much as Absalom and Achitophel.—I have formerly said that Virgil wrote one honest line, [*Æn.* viii 670]

"*Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem,*"

and that, I now believe, was not meant of Cato Uticensis.—*P.*" (*Spence*, 1737-9, p. 217).

Servius thought that the elder Cato was meant, but later commentators prefer Cato Uticensis, "a pattern of purity in a dissolute age" and the upholder of republican ideals against the first triumvirate. In fact, as Pattison notes, the force of *honest* "lies in the consideration that Virgil ventured on this allusion to a republican, in the court of Augustus."

130. *Polwarth*] The Hon. Hugh Hume, Son of Alexander Earl of Marchmont, Grandson of Patric Earl of Marchmont, and distinguished, like them, in the cause of Liberty [P. 1751].

133. "Your friend Sir Robert has but one of these helps [quiet and hunting];

Has never made a Friend in private life,
 And was, besides, a Tyrant to his Wife. 135
 But pray, when others praise him, do I blame?
 Call *Verres*, *Wolsey*, any odious name?
 Why rail they then, if but a Wreath of mine
 Oh All-accomplish'd St. JOHN! deck thy Shrine?
 What? shall each spur-gall'd Hackney of the Day, 140
 When *Paxton* gives him double Pots and Pay,
 Or each new-pension'd Sycophant, pretend
 To break my Windows, if I treat a Friend;
 Then wisely plead, to me they meant no hurt,
 But 'twas my Guest at whom they threw the dirt? 145
 Sure, if I spare the Minister, no rules
 Of Honour bind me, not to maul his Tools;
 Sure, if they cannot cut, it may be said
 His Saws are toothless, and his Hatchets Lead.

137 *Verres*] *Clodius* 1738a. 141 *Paxton*] *Pax*—n 1738a.

but I remember when I saw him last, which was the last time he sent to desire me, he told me he owed his strength to it. You see I have made him a second compliment in print in my second Dialogue, and he ought to take it for no small one, since in it I couple him with Lord Bol—. As he shows a right sense of this, I may make him a third, in my third Dialogue." Pope to Fortescue, July 31, 1738.

135. Ironical. Walpole paid no regard to his wife's infidelities. Commenting on Lady Walpole's death, the year before this poem was written, Lord Egmont wrote in his diary, "Sir Robert it is likely is not very sorry: she was as gallant, if report be true, with the men as he with the women, nevertheless they continued to live together, and take their pleasures their own way without giving offence" (ii 431).

137. See *Dia.* i 51.

138. *Why rail they*] *The Daily Gazetteer*, the Government's paper, had complained in prose and verse, after the publication of *Ep.* 1 i, that only Bolingbroke and other "avowed Enemies to their Country are thought worthy of his Panegyrics" (April 6 and 11, 1738). See Introduction, p. xxxviii.

143. *break my Windows*] Which was done when Lord Bolingbroke and Lord Bathurst were one day dining with him at Twickenham [Warton].

146-7. This couplet admirably summarizes the relations between Pope and Walpole's ministry. See *Biog. App.*, Walpole.

It anger'd TURENNE, once upon a day. 150
 To see a Footman kick'd that took his pay:
 But when he heard th' Affront the Fellow gave,
 Knew one a Man of Honour, one a Knave;
 The prudent Gen'ral turn'd it to a jest,
 And begg'd, he'd take the pains to kick the rest. 155
 Which not at present having time to do—

Fr. Hold Sir! for God's-sake, where's th' Affront to you?
 Against your worship when had S—k writ?
 Or *P—ge* pour'd forth the Torrent of his Wit?
 Or grant, the Bard whose Distich all commend, 160
 [*In Pow'r a Servant, out of Pow'r a Friend.*]
 To *W—le* guilty of some venial Sin,
 What's that to you, who ne'er was out nor in?
 The Priest whose Flattery be-dropt the Crown,

158 when had] what has 1738*ab*.

159 1738*ab* read When did *Ty—l* hurt you with his Wit?

150. Viscomte de Turenne (1611–1675), Marshal of France. The story is told by A. M. de Ramsay in his *Histoire*, an English translation of which was published in 1735 (vol. i, p. 357).

158. Charles Douglas, Earl of Selkirk. Pope refers to him in l. 61 and *Dia.* i 92.

159. *P—ge*] Judge Page; see *Sat.* ii 82.

Ty—l is Lord Tyrconnel; see *Dia.* i 67, var.

160. *the Bard*] A verse taken out of a poem to Sir R.W. [P. 1751]. From Dodington's *Epistle to The Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole* (p. 9), published anonymously in 1726:

Let others barter servile Faith for Gold,
 His Friendship is not to be bought, or sold:
 Fierce Opposition he, unmov'd, shall face;
 Modest in Favour, daring in Disgrace;
 To share thy adverse Fate, alone pretend;
 In Power, a Servant; out of Power, a Friend.

Pope also refers to this in an undated letter to Fortescue (EC ix 109).

164. Spoken not of any particular priest, but of many priests [P. 1751]. Spoken originally of Dr Alured Clarke, a protégé of Queen Caroline, who published *An Essay Towards the Character of Her late Majesty*; but Pope may have added this note on reflecting that the lines would also apply to Dr Gilbert, later Archbishop of York, who wept in the pulpit when preaching about the Queen by the King's command on Dec. 25, 1738 (Egmont, ii 458).

How hurt he you? he only stain'd the Gown,
And how did, pray, the Florid Youth offend,
Whose Speech you took, and gave it to a Friend?

P. Faith it imports not much from whom it came
Whoever borrow'd, could not be to blame,
Since the whole House did afterwards the same: 170

Let Courtly Wits to Wits afford supply,
As Hog to Hog in Huts of *Westphaly*;
If one, thro' Nature's Bounty or his Lord's,
Has what the frugal, dirty soil affords,
From him the next receives it, thick or thin, 175
As pure a Mess almost as it came in;

The blessed Benefit, not there confin'd,
Drops to the third who nuzzles close behind;
From tail to mouth, they feed, and they carouse;
The last, full fairly gives it to the *House*. 180

Fr. This filthy Simile, this beastly Line,
Quite turns my Stomach—P. So does Flatt'ry mine;

166. This seems to allude to a complaint made v. 71 of the preceding Dialogue [P. 1751].

172. Pope had used this simile in an early draft of the character of Atticus, dated 1713 by Sherburn (p. 146 and plate 3):

Now Wits gain praise by copying other Wits
As one Hog lives on w^h another sh—.

Warton noticed it amongst Butler's *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, "Our modern Authors write plays as they feed hogs in *Westphaly*, where but one eats pease or acorns, and all the rest feed upon his, and one another's excrement." Since the *Thoughts* were not published in Pope's lifetime, he supposed they had been communicated to Pope by Atterbury, who is known to have seen the manuscript. But probably there is some other source, for it is too odd a coincidence to suppose that a writer in *Mist's Journal*, Feb. 18, 1731, (p. 694) had also seen the manuscript. See Porson's *Tracts*, 1813, p. 318.

174. This part of the simile was doubtless intended to point to the parsimony of the Court [EC].

182. *Flatt'ry*] Pope writes to Swift, Sept. 1, 1733, of the difficulties attending a visit to Dublin: "If I did not die of [sea-sickness], I must of the excessive eating and drinking of your hospitable town, and the excessive flattery of your most poetical country. I hate to be crammed either way."

And all your Courtly Civet-Cats can vent,
Perfume to you, to me is Excrement.

But hear me further.—*Japhet*, 'tis agreed, 185
Writ not, and *Chartres* scarce could write or read,
In all the Courts of *Pindus* guiltless quite;
But Pens can forge, my Friend, that cannot write.
And must no Egg in *Japhet*'s Face be thrown.
Because the Deed he forg'd was not my own? 190

Must never Patriot then declaim at Gin,
Unless, good man! he has been fairly in!
No zealous Pastor blame a failing Spouse,
Without a staring Reason on his Blows?
And each Blasphemer quite escape the Rod, 195
Because the insult's not on Man, but God?

Ask you what Provocation I have had?
The strong Antipathy of Good to Bad.
When Truth or Virtue an Affront endures,
Th' Affront is mine, my Friend, and should be yours. 200
Mine, as a Foe profess'd to false Pretence,
Who think a Coxcomb's Honour like his Sense;
Mine, as a Friend to ev'ry worthy mind;
And mine as Man, who feel for all mankind.

Fr. You're strangely proud.

P. So proud, I am no Slave: } 205
So impudent, I own myself no Knave:
So odd, my Country's Ruin makes me grave.)
Yes, I am proud; I must be proud to see
Men not afraid of God, afraid of me:

185. *Japhet—Chartres*] See the Epistle to Lord Bathurst [P. 1751]. *Moral Es.* iii 86, 20. See also Biog. App., Japhet Crook.

187. *Pindus*] a mountain in Thessaly associated with the Muses.

191. See *Dia.* i 130n.

204. From Terence: "Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto" [P. 1751]. *Heautontimorumenos*, l. 77.

209. "I know nothing that moves strongly but satire, and those who are ashamed of nothing else, are so of being ridiculous." Pope to Swift [April 1792],

Safe from the British Plume 1
Yet from his own 2
O'er all West India 3
Safe Drifted Home 4
To all but Heaven 5
The Muse's 6
Reverend Father 7
Forwore the World 8
To Virtue 9
And good the Prince 10
Yet in el Fucit's 11
That counts our Britain 12
Spin all your Cobwebs 13
The Muse's 14
All his Grace 15
All that makes Saint 16
All, all but Truth 17
Like the first Gazette 18
When black Ambition 19
A Monarch's sword 20
Not *Baller's* Wreath 21

LCvii 264 Wakefield Congregational Church, 1840-1841

Leur cœur, qui se connaît et qui jette la lumière,
S'élève pour de Dieu, versant l'astuce et le bon

See Sat 11:18 AM

218 *the lady Hall*; i.e. Westminster Hall (formerly the seat of the High Court of Justice, hence, the administrative of Justice) (141)

222 *Cobwebs* Weak and slight sophistry against virtue and honour. Thin colours over vice, as unable to hide the light of Truth, as cobwebs to shade the sun [P. 1741]

227. *Address* the formal reply of the Lords or of the Commons to the King's Speech at the opening of parliament

228. The case of Cromwell in the civil war of England, and (v 229) of Louis XIV. in his conquest of the Low Countries [P 2751]

230. *Wrath* implies that Pope is referring, not to *A Panegyric To My Lord Protector* (1635), but to the less famous *I pen the late Storme, and of the death of his Highnesse* *Enraving the same* (1644).

Nor *Boileau* turn the Feather to a Star.

Not so, when diadem'd with Rays divine,
 Touch'd with the Flame that breaks from Virtue's Shrine,
 Her Priestless Muse forbids the Good to dye,
 And ope's the Temple of Eternity; 235
 There other *Trophies* deck the truly Brave,
 Than such as *Anstis* casts into the Grave;
 Far other *Stars* than * and ** wear,
 And may descend to *Mordington* from *Stair*:
 Such as on *HOUGH*'s unsully'd Mitre shine, 240
 Or beam, good *DIGBY*! from a Heart like thine.
 Let Envy howl while Heav'n's whole Chorus sings,
 And bark at Honour not confer'd by Kings;
 Let Flatt'ry sickening see the Incense rise,
 Sweet to the World, and grateful to the Skies: 245

239 *Mordington*] *Mor—ton* 1738a-1743.

231. See [In 1738a] his Ode on *Namur*; where (to use his own words) *il a fait un Astre de la Plume blanche qui le Roy porte ordinairement à son Chapeau, & qui est en effet une espèce de Comète, fatale à nos ennemis* [P. 1738 51]. Pope is quoting from *Boileau's Discours sur l'Ode*, where he explains that in order to imitate *Pindar* he has used the boldest poetical figures, even going so far as to make a star, etc.

235. Cf. *Comus*, l. 14:

That ope's the Palace of Eternity.

237. The chief Herald at Arms. It is the custom, at the funeral of great peers, to cast into the grave the broken staves and ensigns of honour [P. 1751].

238. "Pope would not have scrupled to designate [anyone but] 'George' and 'Frederick', and this conjecture I found confirmed by Lord Marchmont, who wrote these names in his copy" [Croker].

239. *Stair*] John Dalrymple Earl of *Stair*, Knight of the Thistle; served in all the wars under the Duke of Marlborough; and afterwards as Ambassador in France [P. 1751]. See Biog. App., Dalrymple. Nothing is known of Lord *Mordington* except that his wife kept a public gaming house in Covent Garden. See J. Timbs, *Club Life of London*, 1866, i 323-4.

240. Dr. [John, add 1751] *Hough* Bishop of *Worcester*, [so 1738a 43, 1751 adds] and the Lord *Digby*. The one an assertor of the Church of England in opposition to the false measures of King James II. The other as firmly attached to the cause of that King. Both acting out of principle, and equally men of honour and virtue [P.] See Biog. App.

245. Quoted from *Temple of Fame*, 377.

Truth was the P
 And me A. In the N
 Ye, the P
 When I had
 Here I
 Arc me
 And I
 I'll by the N
 It's M
 And with me

249. Pope with this
 As he observed
 uncertain whether
 precipitating himself

254. Cf. Boileau

In your
 On plat
 Quite
 Adepl

ver. ult.] It was the last poem of the kind printed by island and wisdom
 resolution to publish no more, but to enter thus in the most corruption and
 manner he could, a sort of protest against that immoderate to see. Could he
 depravity of manners which he had been so unhappy as to like, but had men
 have hoped to have amended any, he had continued those attacks as unsafe
 were given so shameless and so powerful, that Ridicule was d, some enemies,
 as it was ineffectual. The Poem raised him as he knew it would men, and the
 testimony of his own conscience [P. 175]. Charles Yorke d with imitating
 Yorke in June 1740, "[Warburton] tells me that Mr Pope is now, and intends
 Horace, that he thinks he could make something of the *Damasc* continuation of
 the Essay [on Man]." (Harris, *Life of Warburton*, 1847, 1475)
 p. xli.

ONE THOUSAND
SEVEN HUNDRED
AND
FORTY.
A POEM

NOTE ON THE TEXT

One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty was first printed by Warton in the fourth volume of his edition of Pope's works. He prefixed to it the following account: "I shall here present the Reader with a valuable Literary Curiosity, a Fragment of an unpublished Satire of Pope, intitled, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND FORTY; communicated to me by the kindness of the learned and worthy Dr. Wilson, formerly fellow and librarian of Trinity College, Dublin; who speaks of the Fragment in the following terms:

"This Poem I transcribed from a rough draft in Pope's own hand. He left many blanks for fear of the Argus Eye of those who, if they cannot find, can fabricate treason; yet, spite of his precaution, it fell into the hands of his enemies. To the hieroglyphics, there are direct allusions, I think, in some of the notes on the Dunciad. It was lent me by a grandson of Lord Chetwynd, an intimate friend of the famous Lord Bolingbroke, who gratified his curiosity by a boxful of the rubbish and sweepings of Pope's study, whose executor he was, in conjunction with Lord Marchmont'."

Another account of the MS. comes from Malone, who at one time was preparing an edition of Pope's works. He writes:

"After Pope's death, Lord Bolingbroke, in consequence of a clause in his will, had the command of his study. Among the sweepings was the following Satire, which was left unfinished by the poet. It fell after Bolingbroke's death into the hand of a kinsman or friend of his, and has since by some strange accident strayed into Ireland. I saw it there about the year 1774, in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, together with a pocket-book of Parnell's, Dryden's *Limberham*, corrected by himself, Pope's *Farewell to London*, and several other papers found in the same drawer. The Satire I have copied by Dr. Wilson's permission. It is in Pope's handwriting, and I have followed closely all his interlineations, corrections, alterations, &c., &c. . . Lord Marchmont in his conversation with Dr. Johnson relative to Pope, mentioned this Satire. He said he and Lord [indistinct] had often heard of it from Pope, and much lamented that he could not find it among Pope's papers" (Prior, *Life of Malone*, 1860, pp. 364-6).

Neither Pope's MS. nor Malone's transcript have yet been discovered. The present text is therefore regretfully taken from Wilson's transcript, printed by Warton, the accuracy of which is suspect. Malone writes of corrections and alterations, which do not appear in Warton's text, and Warton's version of l. 93 is surely inaccurate.

No reference to the hieroglyphics can be discovered in the Notes on the *Dunciad*.

Warton describes the poem as a "fragment," and Malone as "left unfinished." In the sense that the poem was unfit for the printer, this is true. But it seems probable that the poem was intended to end where it ends in the printed version. It is "ruined" rather than incomplected, for the blanks indicate that Pope feared for what he had written, rather than that he was undecided what to write. The reader will understand that most of the annotations are hesitant conjectures.

Line 80 shows that the poem was written some time after June 17, 1740.

1740. A POEM.

O WRETCH'D B—, jealous now of all,
 What God, what mortal, shall prevent thy fall?
 Turn, turn thy eyes from wicked men in place,
 And see what succour from the Patriot Race.
 C—, his own proud dupe, thinks Monarch's thrones 5
 Made just for him, as other fools for Kings;
 Controls, decides, insults thee every hour,
 And antedates the hatred due to Pow'r.
 Thro' Clouds of Passion P—'s views are clear,
 He foams a Patriot to subside a Peer; 10
 Impatient sees his country bought and sold,
 And damns the market where he takes no gold.
 Grave, righteous S— jogs on till, past belief,
 He finds himself companion with a thief.
 To purge and let thee blood, with fire and sword, 15
 Is all the help stern S— wou'd afford.
 That those who bind and rob thee, would not kill,
 Good C— hopes, and candidly sits still.
 Of Ch—s W— who speaks at all,

1. B—] Britain.

4. *Patriot Race*] The Opposition. See Pope's note to *Dia* i 24.

5. Carteret. His policy was to displace Walpole in royal favour. See *Biog. App.*

7. Carteret's "overweening self-confidence, his arrogant and overbearing manner prevented him from ever becoming popular" (A. S. Turberville, *The House of Lords in the XVIIIth Century*, 1927, p. 192).

9. P—'s] William Pulteney. See *Dia* i 24n and *Biog. App.*

10. He was not created Earl of Bath till 1742, but rumours that he could be bought with a peerage had been persistent in 1737 (Hervey, p. 667; *Edgmont*, ii 366; Introduction, p. xxxiv).

13. Bowles suggested that this passage referred to Sandys, a prominent member of the Opposition. See *Biog. App.*

16. Perhaps Shippen, the Jacobite leader; but active supporters from abroad found him too "timid" (DNB). See *Biog. App.*

18. C—] Perhaps Henry Hyde, Viscount Cornbury. See *Biog. App.*

19. Ch—s W—] Perhaps "Chandos, Winchilsea." See *Biog. App.*, Brydges, Finch.

Not in the first Half of the first Part. 20

Who could not be a Minister without a House,

To him but but in the first Part.

Great Courtiers, Bishops, Peers, and Princes,

Unbless'd the chearless nation to behold,

With a sad sigh reply'd,

And could but see the cause of our decay. 25

Whom when Walter the Squire describ'd,

He said thus:

Who could not be a Minister without a House,

And there at home the House of Commons

As for the rest, he winter'd up their sin,

And all are clear that once have run the line. 30

Then me'd he Courtiers by Courtiers,

Inflam'd by P—r by P—r's doings.

They follow'd, recently each with his weight,

Amaz'd that one can read, that one can write.

20. I do not *know*, says Sir Harr—, Sir P— is really Sir Paul Methuen. EC quotes a passage from the MS. of the first Dialogue omitted from the printed versions, after l. 2.

You'd not I hope, pretend to quit the trade
Because you think your reputation made.
Take good Sir Paul of it, 'tis so much wassail,
That when his name was up, he lay a-bed.
Come, come refresh us with a better song,
Or, like Sir Paul, you'll lie a-bed too long.

It is uncertain whether this refers to some incident, or merely indicates Methuen's unduly high opinion of his political consequence. See Biog. App.

23. Gower, Cobham, Bathurst, who appear to have worked together. Two years later, after Walpole's fall, they made their peace with the court and received rewards from the new government. See Biog. App. and Horace Walpole's letter to Mann, June 17, 1742.

25. C—[?] Chesterfield

26. WJ Carruthers plausibly suggests Peter Walter.

29. The country gentleman of the Tory Opposition, who "run up" to attend sessions of Parliament.

31. C—[?] Carteret

32. P—[?] Pulteney

So geese to gander prone obedience keep,	35
Hiss if he hiss, and if he slumber, sleep.	
Till having done whate'er was fit or fine,	
Utter'd a speech, and ask'd their friends to dine;	
Each hurries back to his paternal ground,	
Content but for five shillings in the pound,	40
Yearly defeated, yearly hopes they give,	
And all agree, Sir Robert cannot live.	
Rise, rise, great W— fated to appear,	
Spite of thyself a glorious minister!	
Speak the loud language Princes . . .	45
And treat with half the . . .	
At length to B— kind, as to thy . . .	
Espouse the nation, you . . .	
What can thy H . . .	
Dress in Dutch . . .	50
Tho' still he travels on no bad pretence,	
To shew . . .	
Or those foul copies of thy face and tongue,	
Veracious W— and frontless Young;	
Sagacious Bub, so late a friend, and there	55

40. The country gentlemen's grievance was the land-tax,—increased to four shillings in the pound in 1740—which Walpole had designed to ease by means of his Excise Bill, defeated in 1733. See *Sat.* II ii 134*n*.

42. *Sir Robert*] Walpole.

43. *W—*] Walpole.

45-6. Pope seems to be meditating (or to have erased) a repetition of his strokes (*Dia.* i 32, 38) at Walpole's "horse-laugh" and his system of bribery.

47. Croker completed the couplet:

At length to Britain kind, as to thy whore,
Espouse the nation, you debauched before.

Walpole married Maria Skerrett, whom he had kept for ten years, in 1738. She died a few months later.

49. *thy H*] The context shows that Walpole's brother, Horace, ambassador at the Hague (1733-40), was intended here.

54. *W—*] Warrington. See *Biog.* App.

55. *Bub*] Dodington. See *Dia.* II 160-2, and *Biog.* App.

foe, yet more sagacious H---?
 and Hervey's school, T--- H---y, H---n,
 al Ebor, or religious Winton,
 at ran O---w, what can D---
 om of the one and other chair, 60
 h, or D---s sager
 read truncheon M.'s mighty peer?
 lp from J---s opiates canst thou draw
 's quibbles voted into law?
 t Roman in his nose alone, 65
 rs all causes, B---, but thy own,
 proud fools whom nature, rank, and fate
 companions for the Sword of State.

re of Chichester seems to be intended. Although a staunch
 sed the government on the Quaker Bill in 1736 but returned
 soon after (Hervey's *Memoirs*, p. 543). He had died on April
 pe sometimes found it convenient to ignore such details. See
 370, 385; and Biog. App.

phen Fox), Harry (i.e. Harry Fox), Hinton (i.e. John Poulett,
 political protégés of Lord Hervey. See Biog. App.

Blackburne of York, and Bishop Hoadly of Winchester. The
 al. See Biog. App.

d John West, Earl De la Warr, L. 60 explains why they are
 : Speakers of the House of Commons and of the House of

. . . Dorset. See Biog. App., Pelham, Sackville. No doubt the
 complete the line.

of Marlborough had deserted the Opposition in 1738 and had
 th a court appointment. See Biog. App., Charles Spencer.

ibly Sir Joseph Jekyll (Bowles's guess). See Biog. App.

p Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, the Lord Chancellor. See Biog.

s is a reference to Hardwick's objections to certain clauses
 Bill (1736), which were modified because of his opposition
 x 353).

: Compton, Earl of Wilmington, whose nose, Pope wrote to
 x 168), was all that could be found remarkable to set on his
 iog. App. (Carruthers's guess).

in.

to the Lord High Chamberlain's privilege of disposing of the
 be carried by any peer he may select, at the opening or closing
 / session.

Can the light packhorse, or the heavy steed,
 The sowing Plow, or the sweating Peer 70
 Drag out with all its dirt and all its weight,
 The lumb'ring carnage of thy broken State!
 Alas! the people curse, the carman swears,
 The divers quarrel, and the master stare
 The plague is on thee, Britain, and who thou 75
 To save thee in th' infectious office dies
 The first firm P—y soon resign'd his breath,
 Brave S—w lov'd thee, and was ly'd to death
 Good M—m—t's fate tore P—th from thy side,
 And thy last sigh was heard when W—m died. 80
 Thy Nobles Sl—s, thy Se—s bought with gold,
 Thy Clergy perjur'd, thy whole People sold.
 An atheist— a ⊕ "'s ad . . .

70. *sowing*] i.e. powerful.

77. Daniel Pulteney's undeviating hostility to Walpole provided a valuable satiric contrast to his cousin's vacillation (l. 9). See Biog. App.

78. The Earl of Scarborough committed suicide on Jan. 29, 1740. His action was attributed to his wishing to avoid marriage with the Dowager Duchess of Manchester (Egmont's *Diary*, iii 107), but Pope seems to have believed that he was too sensitive to malicious interpretation of his political behaviour. His perplexity at being conscientiously compelled to leave the court without joining the Opposition is expounded in Hervey's *Memoirs* (pp. 247-50). See *Dia.* ii 65n, and Biog. App., Lumley.

79. The second Earl of Marchmont had died on Feb. 27, 1740. His son, Lord Polwarth, by succeeding to the title, was incapacitated from sitting in the House of Commons, but was not elected as a representative of the Scottish Peers until 1750. "Marchmont," wrote Bolingbroke to Lyttelton on May 6, "wants neither health nor spirit, but he feels as a good man ought to feel, the misfortune of being gagged and bound when the state of Britain requires that every man who loves her should exert his whole strength in her cause" (*Memoirs of Lord Lyttelton*, ed. Phillimore, 1845, i 143). See Biog. App., Hume.

80. Sir William Wyndham, the leader of the Hanoverian Tories, died on June 17, 1740. See Biog. App.

81. Should perhaps read:

Thy Nobles Slaves, thy Senates bought with gold.

83. EC suggests the following reconstruction, but gives no key to the method of interpretation:

An Atheist court, a thief's administration,

BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

THE purpose of this appendix is to provide a brief biographical sketch of the subsidiary members of the family, and to give information concerning their education, degree of professional training, and their present location. It has been found that the following information is of interest to the reader of this paper.

ADDITION J
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family...
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Homeric...
xxxiii, 1935. Ironically enough the satire must have reached Addison at a time when he was beginning to make amends to Pope. His *Travels* for May 7, 1710, contains a short but immediate allusion: "Pope will not at 1. In June 1 perhaps a few days only before the lines were sent. Thomas Burnet, one of Addison's followers at Button's, wrote that Addison and the rest of the Blomington Gang have dropped their resentment against the Lordlike Man [Pope]. Pope told Spence (p. 149) that Addison used him very civilly ever after, and never did him any injustice, that he knew of, from that time to his death. That Addison should have behaved with outward correctness to Pope is what might have been expected, the only expression of his private opinion comes from Lady Mary, a suspicious source, who told Spence (p. 237) that Addison had advised her to leave Pope as soon as she could, for "he will certainly play you some devilish trick else, he has an appetite to satire!"

ALLEN, Ralph (1694-1764). *Dia.* i 135. Philanthropist. As assistant-postmaster at Bath, Allen recognized the need of a system of cross-posts to avoid sending country letters from one part of England to another through London. He devised a system, and farmed it with considerable profit. With some of this money he acquired the valuable Coombe Down Quarries from which he sent Bath stone to London and other parts of the kingdom. He used his wealth with great liberality for various charitable purposes.

Allen became acquainted with Pope in 1736. He had read Pope's *Letters* in one of the "pirated" editions, and formed from them a high opinion of his character; he therefore offered to defray the expense of publishing the "authorized" edition, for which the public was not eager to subscribe. The edition was issued with Allen's help in May 1737. Pope became a frequent visitor at Allen's house near Bath. He introduced Warburton there, who married Allen's niece, and Martha Blount, whose behaviour was responsible for an estrangement between Pope and Allen in 1743 (see Pope's correspondence with MB, EG ix 332-7; Spence, pp. 358-60). They were reconciled before Pope's death, but the estrangement is reflected in Pope's treatment of Allen in his will.

Allen was on friendly terms with Fielding, who used his character as a model for *Squire Allworthy* in *Tom Jones*, and dedicated *Amelia* to him. He also knew Pitt, who held him in deep respect. A letter addressed to his sister in 1759 when Allen was ill expresses Pitt's anxiety "that the best of men, who feels and relieves the most the sufferings of others, may not Himself suffer the severest of Pains" (Rosebery's *Chatham*, 1910, p. 112).

AMELIA, Sophia Eleonora (1710-1786). *Sat.* ii 31. Third child of George II and Queen Caroline.

ANSTIS, John (1669-1744). *Ep.* i vi 82; *Dia.* ii 237. Garter king of arms; "undoubtedly the most knowing of any man in England in affairs of his Office" (Egmont, i 443).

ARBUTHNOT, John (1667-1735). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 27, 133, 415. Physician Extraordinary to Queen Anne, 1705-9; physician in ordinary, 1709-14. Arbuthnot became acquainted with Swift in 1711, by whom he was introduced to Pope in 1713. Pope's high opinion of him may be seen from their correspondence (EG vol. vii) and from a letter to Digby, Sept. 1, 1722, in which Pope writes that he thinks him "as good a doctor as any man for one that is ill, and a better doctor for one that is well." His care as a doctor is further referred to by Pope in a letter to Swift (EG vii 299), and his negligence of money matters in a letter from Swift to him (Aitken, p. 155-6). The three men formed the nucleus of the Scriblerus Club which met at St James's Palace in 1713-14 to compose joint satires on the abuses of human learning. Arbuthnot also collaborated with Pope and Gay in *Three Hours after Marriage*, a play produced in 1717, and with Pope in other pieces (see vol. vi). He died on Feb. 27, 1734-5. See G. A. Aitken, *Life and Works of John Arbuthnot*, 1892.

ARGYLE, Duke of. See Campbell.

ARNALL, William (1706?-1741?). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 140; *Dia.* ii 125. A journalist in the government's pay, who defended its policy under the pseudonym of Francis Wakingham in *The Free Hunter*, and after 1735 in *The Daily Gazetteer*. See *Dunciad* Index (vol. v.).

ATTERBURY, Francis (1682-1742). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 140; *Dia.* ii 82. Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, 1713. Being Jacobite in sympathy, he entered into correspondence with the Pretender in 1717. His letters were seized, and he was imprisoned in the Tower, Aug. 24, 1722, where he was treated with great indignity and severity. His case was tried in the House of Lords in May 1723, Pope being called as a witness on May 10 (see Howell's *State Trials*, xvi 572, 584, and Sherburn, pp. 221-30). He was found guilty of complicity in a plot to reinstate the Pretender, and was banished.

It is uncertain when Pope first met Atterbury, but it cannot have been later than 1713, when both were members of the Scriblerus Club. Pope was in the habit of applying to Atterbury for criticism of his work, and of discussing critical problems with him (Spence, pp. 168, 277; *EC* ix 7, 9, 14-18, 24, 32, etc.). Of Atterbury's acquaintance with Dryden little is known; he translated *Abdolon* and *Achitophel* into Latin in 1682, and was a prime mover in Tonson's edition of *Paradise Lost* (1688) for which Dryden wrote verses to be set beneath the portrait (*Dryden's Prose*, i 202-4).

BARNARD, Sir John (1685-1764). *Ep.* i 85, 89; *Dia.* ii 79. M.P. for the City of London, 1722-61. He "acquired great influence in the House as the only man capable of coping with Walpole on questions of finance" (Lecky, i 445). Knighted, 1732. Lord Mayor 1737-8. Speaker Onslow wrote of him, "He was . . . of a very regular and religious life, without show or affectation, as in his public deportment, he seem'd to have made the best principles of both parties, to be the guide of his political acting: so that he was in truth, one of the greatest examples of private, and in general, of public virtue that this age has produced; and had a popularity arising from that, which . . . was more universal and lasting, than that of any man of his time" (Coxe, ii 565).

BATH, Earl of. See Pulteney, William.

BATHURST, Allen, Earl Bathurst (1684-1775). *Sub. Ads.* 158; *Ep.* ii 256; 1740, 23. One of the twelve peers created in 1711-12 to secure a majority for the Tory administration. An old friend of Pope, who addressed to him his third *Moral Essay* (q.v., vol. iii). Pope refers to his easy morals in an undated letter to him (*EC* viii 341).

BENSON, Martin (1689-1752). *Dia.* ii 72. Bishop of Gloucester, 1735. Both the Earl of Egmont (*Diary*, ii 137) and Lord Hervey (*Memoirs*, p. 405) spoke highly

of his learning and his morals, and Berkeley called him "the delight of mankind." See also, RUNDLE, Thomas

BENTLEY, Richard (1662-1742). *Sob. id.* prof. liter. and nat. D. 1711. 52 [?], *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 1671, *Ep. to 111104*. Master of Trinity College Cambridge, 1700-42. English classical scholar.

Pope's dislike of Bentley is traditionally ascribed to the epigrams with Bentley passed upon the translation of Homer. The story is told by Murphy as follows: "[Bentley] and Pope, soon after the publication of Homer, met at Dr. Mead's dinner, when Pope, desirous of his opinion of the translation, addressed him thus: 'Dr. Bentley, I ordered my bookseller to send you some books. I hope you received them.' Bentley, who had purposely avoided saying any thing about Homer, pretended not to understand him, and asked: 'Books? books? what books?' 'My Homer,' replied Pope, 'which you did me the honour to subscribe for.'—'Oh,' said Bentley, 'ay, now I recollect your translation: it is a pretty poem, Mr. Pope, but you must not call it Homer.' 'Johnson' *Work* xi (185). Perhaps, as Jebb suggests, this is a dramatized version of Bentley's own account, "'Tis an impudent Dog, but I talked against his *Homer*, and the portentous Crib never forgives" (1. Bentley's [?] *Letter to Mr. Pope, Occasioned by Scher. Advice from Horace, &c.*, 1735, p. 15). Though this was probably the prime cause of Pope's resentment, there were other reasons for hostility, as Monk points out (*Life of Bentley*, ii 373), Bentley had been attacked by Swift, he was a ministerial Whig, and he had given great offence to Bolingbroke. Above all, just as Chatteris was the stock type of debauchee, Bentley, ever since the *Phalaris* controversy, was the stock type of verbal critic, a reputation enhanced by his editions of Horace (1711) and Milton (1732). Whatever the cause of Pope's personal resentment, it is as a verbal critic that Bentley is attacked both in this volume and in the *Dunciad*. See also Pope's letter to the Earl of Oxford, Nov. 7, 1731.

BERKELEY, George (1685-1753). *Dia.* ii 73. Metaphysical Philosopher. Bishop of Cloyne, 1734-52. His principal works are the *Essay towards a New Theory of Vision* (1709) and the *Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* (1710), in which he contests the materialism popularized by Hobbes. Berkeley seems to have met Pope in 1713 (B. Rand, *Berkeley and Perceval*, 1914, p. 110), and corresponded with him while he was travelling in Italy. Later Pope sought his advice about a passage in the *Essay on Man* (Spence, p. 142). In Berkeley's "virtues" there is plentiful testimony. Atterbury's impression on first meeting him is mentioned in DNB, the Earl of Eginont warmly declared that he was "the worthiest, the learnedest, the wisest, and most virtuous divine of the three kingdoms" (*Diary*, i 224).

BETHEL, Hugh (d. 1748). *Sat.* ii *passim*. M.P. for Pontefract, 1715-22. He was one of Pope's oldest and most esteemed friends: "Poor Mr. Bethel too," he wrote to Allen, Jan. 20 [1744?], "is very ill in Yorkshire. And, I do assure you, there are no two men I wish better to, I have known and esteemed him for every

moral artist, the
the weak, the
think not that
his delight is
one. Mistake
stant ex-
friend to
Fig. MS. 114
1735. It is
several
shall wait
that health
ters, a
no doer open at

BELLERION, Henry. *The History of the County of Devon*. London: Printed by J. Baskin, 1727. 4 vols. The first volume contains the history of the county from the time of the Romans to the present. The second volume contains the history of the county from the time of the Saxons to the present. The third volume contains the history of the county from the time of the Normans to the present. The fourth volume contains the history of the county from the time of the Plantagenets to the present.

BLACKBURN, Thomas. *The History of the County of Devon*. London: Printed by J. Baskin, 1727. 4 vols. The first volume contains the history of the county from the time of the Romans to the present. The second volume contains the history of the county from the time of the Saxons to the present. The third volume contains the history of the county from the time of the Normans to the present. The fourth volume contains the history of the county from the time of the Plantagenets to the present.

BLACKMORE, Sir Richard (1655? 1704). *Nat. Hist. Ep. 11112* (1787, 1116). Physician to William III and Anne. Knighted 1697. Published, amongst other works, *Prince Arthur*, a heroic poem (1695) and *Creation*, a philosophical poem, 1712. Pope had considered inserting a contemptuous reference to him in the *Ruys on Creation* (l. 44), and had collected some of his "solemn nonsense" for use in *Peri Bathos* in 1714 (Sherburn, p. 82), but they were on sufficiently familiar terms at that time for Pope to beg Hughes to make "his most

was not in the study (1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

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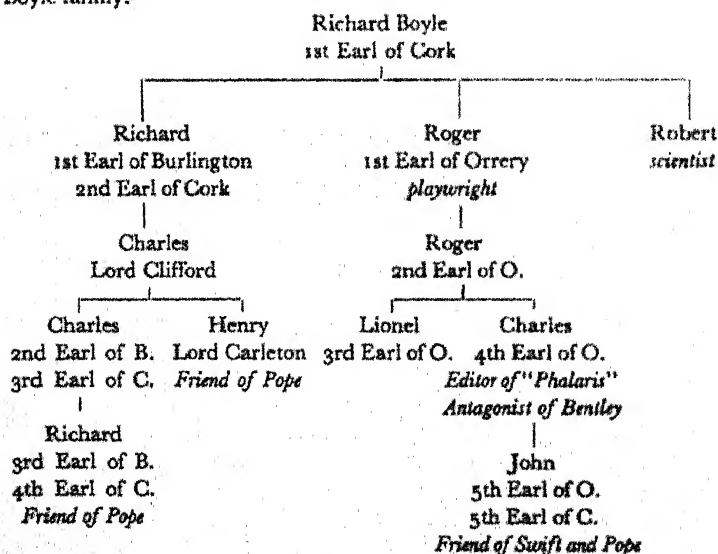
As an actor Booth was remarkable for the light and grace of his carriage and for his voice, the tones of which, whether in English or other, were all musical, and he had a rare talent as a singer, never heard of since he came from him. His Attitudinism was a necessity, he acted to the farthest Part of the Theatre when he almost whispered. *Life of Booth* 173, p. 44. See also *Ed. III* 122.

BOYLE, Henry, Baron Catterton (d. 1711). *Died in the Lord of the Treasury* (under William III., 1689; 1701-4; *Journal of the Exchequer*, 1701-8. Secretary of State, 1708-10. Boyle was dismissed from office with Somers and the Duke of Devonshire on September 20, 1710. *Journal to Stella*, and replaced by St John. He remained out of office throughout the rest of Anne's reign, but was appointed President of the Council in Walpole's second administration, a post which he held till his death. Speaker Onslow wrote of him, "He was now [1708] at least very firm and acceptable to the whigs, but without any party violence, and never engaged in mean things. He conducted the business of the government in the house of commons with great dignity and wisdom, and was treated there and every where else with much personal respect and distinction. He had good natural abilities, with a very sound judgment; wary and modest in all his actions, even to a diffidence of himself, that was often improper and hurtful to

him. But on occasions which he thought required it, he shewed no want either of spirit or steadiness, which, with the justice and honour of his nature, and the decorum of his manner in every thing, gave him a consideration and a weight in the opinion of those who knew his character far beyond what any other public person has acquired in our times. I have often thought him a great pattern for those who would govern this country well." (Burnet, v 345.) Croker suspected Carleton of Jacobitism on what seem insufficient grounds, and in this way explained the contrast between the policies of Carleton and Stanhope, which Pope implies in l. 81; but it is enough to remember that between 1717 and 1720 Stanhope and Walpole were the leaders of rival whig factions, and that Carleton supported Walpole.

Little is known of Pope's acquaintance with Carleton. He is mentioned among Pope's friends by Gay in v 15 of *Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece* (1720), and in an undated letter to the Earl of Burlington, possibly written in 1716, Pope writes that he has paid him a visit.

This table will illustrate the degrees of relationship between members of the Boyle family:



BROWNLOW, John, Baron Charleville and Viscount Tyrconnel (1693?-1754). *Dia.* i 67. M.P. for Grantham, 1713-15, 1722-41; for Lincoln County, 1715-22. His political allegiance was uncertain. He is found opposing government measures in 1730 and 1731, but in 1732 he joined the Whigs and moved the address of thanks for the King's Speech. This gave Shippen the opportunity of reflecting upon Tyrconnel's "abandoning his party, for he had been ever since the King came in against the Court Measures" (Egmont i 214). Nevertheless he

was voting with the Tories again in 1734. "Thus there seem to have been some grounds for George II's complaint that Tyrconnel was 'a puppy that never votes twice together on the same side'." (Hervy, p. 102.) Tyrconnel had been the patron of Richard Savage, but later had quarrelled with him and ejected him from his house. A passage in a letter Pope wrote to Savage on Sept. 15, 1742, suggests that Pope sided with Savage in the dispute. As an orator Tyrconnel appears to have been incompetent. Croker discovered a comment upon the above-mentioned address of thanks to the effect that it came from "an uncouth speaker."

BRYDGES, James, first Duke of Chandos (1673-1744-1749, 19[?]). In 1740 Chandos had long retired from active politics. Pope's relations with him are discussed in vol. iii.

BUBB, George. See Dodlington.

BUCKINGHAM, Duke of. See Sheffield.

BUDGEELL, Eustace (1686-1737). *Sat.* ii 27, 100; *Donne*, iv 51; *Sob. Adv.* 60; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 37B. A miscellaneous writer and cousin of Addison, who introduced him to various official posts in Ireland. In later life he became badly involved in numerous lawsuits, which preyed so much upon his mind that he eventually committed suicide. He was the author of papers marked "X" in the *Spectator*.

BURNET, Thomas (1694-1753). *Donne*, iv 61 (2); *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 146, 211n. Youngest son of Bishop Burnet. One of Addison's followers. He had attacked Pope, not without Addison's concurrence, in *Homericus* and in a periodical called *The Grumbler*, both published at the time of the "Homeric" feud. For this, Burnet and his collaborator, Duckett, were repaid with a place in *The Dunciad* (A iii 173-80 and note; B iii 179-84). Pope supposed Burnet to be the author of *Pope Alexander's Supremacy and Infallibility Examined*, 1729,—the "scandalous History" of l. 146—but it is unlikely that he wrote against Pope after 1716. In 1719, Burnet went to Lisbon as consul; later in life he rose to be a justice of the common pleas (1741). See further, vol. v, *Letters of Burnet to Duckett*, ed. D. Nichol Smith 1914, and *Prose* i lxxiv-v, lxxxiv-viii.

CAMPBELL, John, second Duke of Argyle (1678-1743). *Dis.* ii 86. Brigadier-General under Marlborough in the wars of the Spanish Succession. Prominent in effecting the Act of Union between England and Scotland (1705). His sudden appearance and prompt action at the last privy council of Anne's reign ensured the Hanoverian succession, which he later defended by crushing the '15 rebellion. At this period (1738) he was going over to the opposition, and his hostile speeches hastened the fall of the ministry. Thomson commended his eloquence in *Autumn* (ll. 929 ff):

Nor less the palm of peace enwreathes thy brow:
 For, powerful as thy sword, from thy rich tongue
 Persuasion flows, and wins the high debate.

Pope was personally acquainted with Argyle. He mentions to Caryll (August 6, 1717) that he has passed a few days in the summer with him.

CARLETON, Baron. See Boyle.

Queen CAROLINE (1683-1737). *Sat.* ii i 30; *Donne*, iv 89, 132; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 72, 319, 357; *Ep.* ii i 355; *Dia.* i 80, ii 225. A firm supporter of Walpole. Queen Caroline used the ascendancy which she possessed over the King's mind to urge Walpole's views even when her own political sense forbade her to agree with them. Her religious opinions were latitudinarian; it was owing to her influence that Butler and Berkeley were promoted to the episcopate. The worst that can be said of such a sensible and tolerant woman is that she maintained an implacable hatred for her eldest son.

Dr Johnson reports (*Lives*, iii 171) that when the Court was at Richmond, the Queen had declared her intention of visiting Pope. "This may have been only a careless effusion, thought on no more: the report of such notice, however, was soon in many mouths; and, if I do not forget or misapprehend Savage's account, Pope, pretending to decline what was not yet offered, left his house for a time, not, I suppose, for any other reason than lest he should be thought to stay at home in expectation of an honour which would not be conferred. He was, therefore, angry at Swift, who represents him as 'refusing the visits of a Queen,' because he knew that what had never been offered had never been refused."

CARTERET, John, Lord, Earl Granville (1690-1763). 1740, 5, 31. Secretary of State, 1721. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1724-30. On returning from Ireland Carteret was offered a post in the Household. He refused this and joined the Opposition Whigs, whose leadership in the House of Lords he shared with Chesterfield. Although for some time Carteret was one of the Prince of Wales's political advisers, he had no compunction in forsaking a man he despised when the Prince was of no further use to him; for Carteret's purpose was to displace Walpole, as Pope seems to have suspected. After Walpole's fall, to which he had largely contributed, Carteret became Secretary of State in Wilmington's administration (1742-4), though in all but name he was prime minister. For his later career, see W. Baring Pemberton's biography.

There is no evidence that Pope and Carteret were ever more than acquaintances. Pope had written to him as Secretary of State on Feb. 16, 1722-3, protesting his innocence of any trickery in procuring a licence for publishing the Duke of Buckingham's works.

GAVENDISH, William, third Duke of Devonshire (1698-1755). *Ep.* ii ii 229. One of Walpole's most loyal supporters. When Chesterfield was dismissed from the office of Lord Steward of the Household in 1733, Devonshire succeeded him

and held this post until he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1737.

CHANDOS, Duke of. See Brydges.

CHARTRES, or Charteris, Francis (1675-1732). *Sib.* ii i 4. 89; *Donne*, ii 36; *Ep.* i vi 120; *Din.* ii 106. A notorious debaucher who amassed a fortune by gambling and ivory. Lament, commenting on his trial for rape (*Select Trials*, 1735, ii 339-41), calls Charteris "one of the greatest and most known rignues in England" (*ibid.*, i 75). But Alexander Carlyle (*Autobiography*, Ch. i) detected political animus in those who attacked him. "He was a great prodigate, no doubt . . . but he was one of the Runners of Sir Robert Walpole, and defended him in all places of resort, which drew the wrath of the Tories upon him, and particularly sharpened the pens of Pope and Arbuthnot against him. For had it not been for the witty epitaph of the latter, Charteris might have escaped in the crowd of gamblers and debauchees, who are only railed at by their pigeons, and soon fall into total oblivion." See Pope's note to *Moral Ex.* iii 29.

CHESELDEN, William (1688-1752). *Ep.* i i 51. Surgeon at St Thomas's and St George's Hospital, and appointed Surgeon to Queen Caroline in 1727. Pope seems to have become acquainted with Cheselden about the year 1735. In the following year, Swift had to inquire who this Cheselden was, that had so lately sprung up in his favour (*EC* vii 339); to which Pope replied (Mar. 25, 1736), "It shows that the truest merit does not travel so far any way as on the wings of poetry. He is the most noted, and most deserving man, in the whole profession of chirurgery, and has saved the lives of thousands by his manner of cutting for the stone." This was not exaggerated praise; he has been described more recently as "the most expert operator of his generation" (*Johnson's England*, ii 268), and "as beyond dispute one of the greatest of British surgeons" (*DNB*). His reputation for wit was not so high, as the following epigram by Dr Munro shows (*Hor. Walpole's Letters* ed. Toynbee i 106):

When Hulse for some trifling unorthodox jests
An unchristian was censur'd by bigots and priests,
He wisely resolv'd to wipe off the reproach,
And was seen with a parson six months in his coach.
When Cheselden saw that the scheme had success,
He conceiv'd in some sort it might suit his own case;
So to take an unlucky damn'd censure away,
He contriv'd to be seen with a wit every day:
And with Pope by his side in the pride of his soul,
'Now damn ye,' says he; 'now d'ye think I'm a fool?'

Cheselden attended Pope in his last illness (*Spence*, p. 321). A letter addressed to him by Pope is printed in *EC* vol. x, from which it appears that he was treating Pope for cataract. Pope used occasionally to lodge at his house in town (*Egerton MS.* 1946 ff 19, 88).

CHESTERFIELD, Earl of. See Stanhope, Philip.

CHILD, Sir Francis (1684? 1740). *Ep.* 1111 67. Head of the Vanishing Line of Child and Co. Lord Mayor, 1731. Nothing has been discovered of his acquaintance with Pope.

CHURCHILL, John, Duke of Marlborough (1672-1742). *Sat.* 1111 12, 51, *Adv.* 9; *Ep.* 1111 32, *Ep.* 1111 127. The victor of Blenheim. His political opponents were never tired of attacking him on account of his parsimony. See, for example, *The Examiner*, No. 16, written by Swift.

CIBBER, Colley (1671-1757). *Sat.* 1111 34, 37, *Ep.* 1111 134, 137, 138, *Ep.* 1111 138; 1111 88, 292, 310; 1111 6, *Dia.* 1111 5. Comic actor and dramatist. After an unsuccessful attempt to gain a commission in the army, Cibber took to the stage, and was given his first part in Southerne's *St. Athanas's Feast*, 1691. His first play was *Love's Last Shift*, 1695 6, and his most famous play, *The Celer's Husband*, 1704. He became joint-licensor of the Haymarket Theatre in 1710, and of Drury Lane in 1712; he was appointed Poet Laureate in 1730, and wrote *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, Comedian* in 1740, for which he is chiefly remembered. He retired from the stage officially in March 1733, but kept on re-appearing until 1745.

Pope's animosity had been roused by some jocular references to *Three Hours after Marriage* in the *Rehearsal*, which Cibber had revised in 1717. Throughout the period represented by the poems in this volume, Pope had made free use of Cibber's name without Cibber retorting. The later history of their relations belongs to vol. v.

CIBBER, Theophilus (1703-1758). *Dia.* 1111 5. Son of Colley Cibber. He first appeared on the stage in 1721, and ten years later he took over his father's share in the patent of Drury Lane Theatre (1731-2). Actor-Manager there, 1734.

COBHAM, Viscount. See Temple.

COMPTON, Spencer, Earl of Wilmington (1673? 1743). 1740, 65 [?]. Speaker of the House of Commons, 1715-27. On George I's death, the new king dismissed Walpole and entrusted the management of affairs to Compton, but he realized his mistake immediately, and reinstated Walpole. Compton was compensated with a peerage, and gave Walpole grudging support as Lord President of the Council until his fall was imminent. Although still a member of the government, Wilmington did not vote against Carteret's motion for removing Walpole in 1741, and had sufficient political influence to become the titular head of the new administration, directed by Carteret, Pulteney, and the Pelhams. Hervey's character of Wilmington represents the commonly held opinion, "He was a plodding, heavy fellow, with great application, but no talents, and vast complaisance for a Court without any address" (*Memoirs*, p.

CORNBURY, Viscount. See Hyde.

COWPER, William, first Earl Cowper (1664?-1723). *Ep.* ii ii 134. Lord Keeper, 1705; Lord Chancellor, 1707-10, 1714-16. Pope was personally unacquainted with him (*EC* x 198). His "strength, as an orator, lay by no means in his reasonings, for he often hazarded very weak ones. But such was the purity and elegance of his style, such the propriety and charms of his elocution, and such the gracefulness of his action, that he never spoke without universal applause: the ears and the eyes gave him up the hearts and the understandings of the audience" (Chesterfield to his son, Dec. 5, 1749).

CRAGGS, James (1686-1721). *Ep.* i vi 45; *Ep.* i vii 67; *Dia.* ii 69. Secretary at War, 1717; Secretary of State, 1718. Pope and he were neighbours at Chiswick, and later at Twickenham, and held each other in high esteem. Craggs gave Pope some shares in the South Sea Company, and frequently pressed Pope to accept a pension of £300 a year, to be paid from secret service money in his hands (Spence, p. 307). He died of smallpox at the height of the South Sea scare, in which he was deeply involved. Pope never hesitated in defending his memory. He wrote to Caryll in February 1721 (*EC* vi 276), "There never lived a more worthy nature, a more disinterested mind, a more open and friendly temper than Mr. Craggs. A little time, I doubt not, will clear up a character which the world will learn to value and admire when it has none such remaining in it." The same opinion he expressed openly in the epitaph written for his memorial in Westminster Abbey (see vol. vi), and in the concluding lines of his *Epistle to Addison* (vol. vi). See also his *Epistle to James Craggs, Esq.* (vol. vi).

CROOK, Japhet (1662-1734). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 363; *Dia.* i 120; ii 185, 189. Alias, Sir Peter Stranger. He was convicted in 1731 of forging deeds of conveyance and fraudulently obtaining a will, and was sentenced to stand in the Pillory, have his ears cut off, his nose slit, forfeit his goods and chattles, and be imprisoned for life (*Fog's Weekly Journal*, May 29, June 12, 1731). See Pope's note to *Moral Es.* iii 86. For the details of his frauds, see James Moore's *The Unparalleled Impostor*, 1731.

CURLL, Edmund (1675-1747). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 53, 113, 380. Bookseller of infamous reputation. He specialized, to quote Professor Sherburn, in scandalous biographies, and seditious and pornographic pamphlets; he was also glad of any opportunity to publish private papers not intended for the press, which had strayed from their rightful owners. Pope had suffered from his attentions since 1714, and had revengeed himself by administering an emetic when Curll published *Court Poems* two years later. Accounts of the skirmishes which followed will be found in Professor Sherburn's *Early Career of Alexander Pope*, Ch. vi, and in Mr Ault's preface to his edition of the *Prose Works*, pp. xciv-cxv. Curll could not be omitted from *The Devil*: he is found in Book ii (A ii 33 ff) with a long note by Pope. In 1733 Pope began his surreptitious manoeuvres whose purpose

as to "jockey" Curll into publishing an "unauthorized" edition of his letters, that he might have some colour for publishing an authentic edition. The best account of this transaction is in G. W. Drake's *The Papers of a Critic*, 1875, i 287 ff. see also a further account of Curll in vol. v.

DALRYMPLE, John, second Earl of Stair. 1673-1747. *Dia.* ii 239. Ambassador at Paris, 1715-20; Vice-Admiral of Scotland, 1720-33. He was deprived of this office after vigorously opposing Walpole's Excise Bill, and was not restored to favour until Walpole's fall. Even Hervey, who was a political opponent, allows that Stair acted as Ambassador "with skill and credit to himself and to the honour and benefit of his country." He goes on to say that Stair was "reckoned a man of honour and integrity." *Memoirs*, p. 136.

DARTINEUF, or **DAR HQUENAVE**, Charles. 1664-1737. *Scr.* iii 46; *Ep.* ii 1187. A celebrated epicure, chosen by Lyttelton to represent the moderns in a dialogue with the Roman epicure, Apollon (*Dialogues of the Dead*, 1760, No. 19). He held the post of Surveyor of the King's gardens and private roads, was a member of the Kit Cat club, and a friend of Swift. According to Warburton, Dartineuf would say that Pope had done justice to his taste; but that if, instead of *Ham-pie*, he had given him *Sweet-pie*, he never could have pardoned him.

DELAWARE, Earl. See West.

DELORAIN, Earl of. See Scott.

DELORAIN, Countess of. See Howard.

DENNIS, John (1657-1734). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 153, 270, 370; *Ep.* ii i 388. Critic and dramatist. Pope had offended him by l. 585 of the *Essay on Criticism*, and Dennis replied with some severe strictures upon the poem. This was the commencement of a long period of hostilities. See further vols. i and vi, and *Sherburn passim*.

DEVONSHIRE, Duke of. See Cavendish.

DIGBY, William, fifth Baron Digby (1662-1752). *Dia.* ii 241. M.P. Warwick, 1689-98. He did not sit in James II's Irish parliament (May 7, 1689), and was attainted by it. Pope, who was a friend of Digby's children, and wrote an epitaph for two of them (see vol. vi), may have known more of Digby's loyalty to James than can now be discovered.

DODINGTON, George Bubb, Baron Melcombe (1691-1762). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 230ff, 280; *Ep.* ii ii 274; *Dia.* i 12, 68; ii 160; 1740, 55. An obvious mark for satire on account of his political improbity, his ostentatious and tasteless expense, and his affectation of patronage. He owned several parliamentary

boroughs and their respective lords, and he was able to help Walpole in his administration. He was later to assist the Prince of Wales in his efforts to secure patronage for the extension of the royal prerogative, and he is said to have often acted as a mediator between the personal relations with Pope.

DORSLEY, Duke of See *Saskatchewan*.

DOUGLAS, Charles, Earl of Selkirk (1733-1808). A warm supporter of the Revolution. Represented Scotland in parliament, 1713-1722. Selkirk was a close friend of Lord Hervey, who wrote of him in a posthumous edition of the *Morning Post* (1783):

Let nauseous Selkirk shake his empty head
Through six courts none when six have sided behind.

Pope had already shown his spleen towards him in a manuscript version of the *Moral Essays* (155, 1141).

DOUGLAS, Charles, third Duke of Queensberry and second Duke of Dover (1698-1778). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 260. Privy Counsellor in the reign of George I and III, and keeper of the great seal of Scotland, 1760. He quarrelled with George II when a licence was refused for Gay's opera *Teddy* (1728). His wife (d. 1777) was renowned for her beauty, eccentricity, wit, and kindness of heart. Swift told Pope that he envied Gay for nothing so much as being "a domestic friend to such a lady" (L.L. vii, 294). Nearly two years after his death, the Duchess wrote to Lady Suffolk, "I often want poor Mr. Gay, and on this occasion extremely—it is a sort of pleasure to think over his good qualities, his loss was really great, but it is a satisfaction to have once known so good a man" (*Suffolk*, ii, 109). See under GAY.

DOVER, Thomas (1660-1742). *Ep.* 1 vi 57. Practised in London as a physician from 1721 till 1728, and from 1731 till his death. He was known as "the quicksilver doctor" from his extravagant use of mercury in prescription (DNB).

DRUMMOND, Mary (d. 1777). *Dia.* 1 133. Sister of George Drummond, the famous Lord Provost of Edinburgh. She adopted Quaker tenets in the early 1730's and thereafter devoted herself to itinerant preaching throughout Great Britain, collecting funds at the same time for the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, which her brother was building. She reached London in 1735, where "she preached in almost all the Meetings in and about this City, to crowded Audiences, and with great Applause from People of all Sects and Persuasions" (A. Boyer, *Political State*, vol. 50, p. 473). She is said to have developed kleptomania in later life, and to have died in poverty and disrepute. A tract written by Mrs Drummond entitled *Internal Revelation The Source of Saving Knowledge* was

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DRYDEN, J. J.	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	2101	2102	2103	2104	2105	2106	2107	2108	2109	2110	2111	2112	2113	2114	2115	2116	2117	2118	2119	2120	2121	2122	2123	2124	2125	2126	2127	2128	2129	2130	2131	2132	2133	2134	2135	2136	2137	2138	2139	2140	2141	2142	2143	2144	2145	2146	2147	2148	2149	2150	2151	2152	2153	2154	2155	2156	2157	2158	2159	2160	2161	2162	2163	2164	2165	2166	2167	2168	2169	2170	2171	2172	2173	2174	2175	2176	2177	2178	2179	2180	2181	2182	2183	2184	2185	2186	2187	2188	2189	2190	2191	2192	2193	2194	2195	2196	2197	2198	2199	2200	2201	2202	2203	2204	2205	2206	2207	2208	2209	2210	2211	2212	2213	2214	2215	2216	2217	2218	2219	2220	2221	2222	2223	2224	2225	2226	2227	2228	2229	2230	2231	2232	2233	2234	2235	2236	2237	2238	2239	2240	2241	2242	2243	2244	2245	2246	2247	2248	2249	2250	2251	2252	2253	2254	2255	2256	2257	2258	2259	2260	2261	2262	2263	2264	2265	2266	2267	2268	2269	2270	2271	2272	2273	2274	2275	2276	2277	2278	2279	2280	2281	2282	2283	2284	2285	2286	2287	2288	2289	2290	2291	2292	2293	2294	2295	2296	2297	2298	2299	2300	2301	2302	2303	2304	2305	2306	2307	2308	2309	2310	2311	2312	2313	2314	2315	2316	2317	2318	2319	2320	2321	2322	2323	2324	2325	2326	2327	2328	2329	2330	2331	2332	2333	2334	2335	2336	2337	2338	2339	2340	2341	2342	2343	2344	2345	2346	2347
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ELLIS, John 1633? 1738 306 1st B; Under-Secretary of State, 1695-1705.
No other allusion to his misfortunes has been discovered.

FUSDEN, Laurence (1688-1730) *Ep to Arbuthnot*, 15, *Ep* 111417 Appointed poet laureate on Rowe's death in 1718 because he had celebrated the marriage of the Duke of Newcastle, in whose gift as Lord Chamberlain the office lay Eusden took holy orders in 1724, and became Rector of Comingsby in 1730 Pope refers *once more* to his drunkenness in a letter to Gay (Oct. 23, 1730) It was recognized even by those prepared to champion him The author of *Characters of the Times* (1728), who made it his business to defend the victims of Pope and Swift, described him as "A Man of insuperable Modesty, since certainly it was not his Ambition, that led him to seek this illustrious Post [the laureateship], but his Affection to the Perquisite of Sack." Eusden had addressed birthday odes to the King in his official capacity.

HINCH Daniel, sixth Earl of Warrington (1707-1772). A Whig lord. He had been appointed Viscount of Rathfriland in 1711. In 1714, commissioner of the Treasury in 1717, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1725. His Comptroler of the Exchequer in 1735. He took the lead of the opposition with Carteret. He and Carteret led a party of Whigs against the Scottish Peers' election in 1740. He was appointed a parliamentary pension for an increase of £1,000 a year. He was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty in 1741. He died in 1772. See *GLC's Peerage*, *Edmont*, *James*, *Herbert*, *James*.

HERVÉ, André, Hercule de (1634-1733). *Sat. n. 1*. Duc de Choiseul. 1726, chief adviser to Louis XV of France. 1724-41. He was a man of great reputation for sincerity and prudence. Lord Hervé's political principle in politics was to keep peace in Europe as long as possible, and by his adherence to this principle France during his administration recovered all the havoc and distress and misery that had been brought upon her by a series of so many years' mismanagement in his predecessors. *Memoir*, p. 13, yet he was forced into war in 1733 to support the claim of Louis XV's father-in-law to the crown of Poland, and later he was unable to avoid entering the wars of the Austrian Succession.

FORTESCUE, William (1687-1749). *Sat. n. 1, passim*. One of the few members of the court party with whom Pope was on terms of intimate friendship. Fortescue had been Walpole's private secretary when he was first appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer (1715), and had supported him in the Commons as member for Newport (I W) from 1728 to 1736. In that year he was made a Baron of the Exchequer, in 1738 he became a justice of the common pleas, and in 1741 he was appointed Master of the Rolls. From a letter Pope wrote to Gray on Oct. 23, 1713, it seems likely that he was already on friendly terms with Fortescue at that time, the introduction had probably been made by Gray. As Pope admits in the first *Imitation of Horace*, he used to go to Fortescue for professional advice; his signature is found as a witness on the *Odyssey* indenture (Sherburn, p. 316), and Pope told Spence that they had collaborated in *Stradling versus Stiles* (*Anecdotes*, p. 145).

FOSTER, James (1697-1753). *Dia. i* 131. Anabaptist minister. In 1728 he started a course of Sunday evening lectures in the Old Jewry, in which "with great clearness and strength of reasoning, he enforced the obligations of religion and virtue, chiefly from principles in which all mankind are agreed" (Sir John Hawkins, *General History of Music*, 1776, v 325). He kept up this course of lectures for over twenty winters, and acquired such a reputation that "it became a proverbial expression, that those who had not heard Farinelli sing and Foster preach were not qualified to appear in genteel company" (*ibid.*). Hawkins, who knew Foster well, records that Pope was acquainted with him and frequently came to the Old Jewry purposely to hear him (*ibid.*). Dr Johnson con-

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01734 The High Heavens: The Earth as a Temple, by J. G. Gager. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989. Pp. 288. \$39.95. ISBN 0 19 506100 1.

This book is a study of the concept of the earth as a temple in the Bible and in the ancient Near East. The author, J. G. Gager, is a professor of Near Eastern Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. The book is written for a general audience and is accessible to non-specialists. It is a well-written and informative work that provides a comprehensive overview of the subject. The author discusses the concept of the earth as a temple in the Bible and in the ancient Near East, and how it has been interpreted by scholars. He also discusses the role of the temple in the ancient world and how it has been used in the modern world. The book is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the history of religion and the study of the Bible.

relating to the fact that the

FRIEDRICH LOUIS FRITZWALDER. *Heinrich Heine* 32
108 1841-92 74 B.H. Heine's political situation in France
caused in the foundation of xxx. Textual evidence
with Pope in 1841. D. 1841.

CARLH, Sir Samuel (1661-1713). *Fr. 1. 1b. 11. 13*. Portrait of an in-
ordinary to George I. Carlh. was one of Pope's earliest friends. He en-
couraged him in writing the *Dissert.* and received the dedication of the
second. He approved of the addition of the machinery to *The Rape of the Lock*, of
which his own *Dissert.* (1691) was one of the earliest ancestors. In 1717 Pope
contributed to his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by several lines. Pope
thought Carlh. 'one of the best natural men in the world' and his grief at his
death is expressed in a letter to Jeremy Dec. 12, 1713, where he attempts to com-
mend his free thinking. 'You must have heard many tales on this subject,' he
writes, 'but it ever there was a good christian without knowing himself to be so,
it was Dr. Carlh., a prose version of what he had already expressed in his *Fur-
nival* to London, 1715' (see vol. vi).

And Earth the best good Christian he,
Although he knows it not

Little is known of Garth's acquaintance with Dryden, though Malone writes of the many hours they spent in the same company (*Dryden's Prose*, i (197)). Garth subscribed to his translation of Virgil (1697) and preached his funeral oration at the Royal College of Physicians.

GAY, John (1685-1732) *Ep to Arbuthnot*, 256; *Sat* II vi 94 Pope made the acquaintance of Gay about the year 1711, and soon after the two men were associated in the Scriblerus Club, of which Gay for a time was secretary (Sherburne pp. 71, 76). In 1712, Gay inscribed to Pope his *Rural Sports*, and in the following

year supported Pope in his quarrel with Prior. In 1714 he published a pastoral, *The Shepherd's Week*. In 1717 they collaborated on the comedy *Three Hours after Marriage*. Gay published a comedy in 1722 and gained £20,000 by subscription and sales in the next three years with *The Sea Bubble*. The same year the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire took him under their protection, and with them he collected the rest of his life. His best known works are *Fanny* (1716), *Love's Victory* (1720), *Trivia* (1728). He was buried in Westminster Abbey and a monument erected to his memory by the Duke of Queensberry. Pope epitaphized him in 1731. The only "neglect" which Gay's genius suffered was the absence of royal patronage, which he had done nothing to deserve. He died at 66.

GEORGE II (1683-1760). Sat. ii, 21, 24-35; *Dunciad* (1727), *Ep. to Arbuthnot* (1722), *Ep. ii, passim*, *Ep. 1110, 106*, *Dia. 118, 20, 107, 110, 122*. Pope represents George II as a German boor, insensitive to all the arts but mainly avuncular, fond of bragging about his military exploits but denied the satisfaction of leading his armies to battle, because he was under the thumb of Queen Caroline and Walpole. There is some truth in this estimate, and if Pope had enjoyed Spenser's confidence he could have made his satire even more severe, but he could not see, or was unwilling to recognize George II's merits. The King was a shrewd judge of men, and never misplaced his political confidence. He was also an eminently honest, truthful, and honourable man, and discharged with remarkable fidelity the duties of a constitutional monarch. He loved money greatly, but he lived strictly within the revenues that were assigned to him, and was the most economical English sovereign since Elizabeth" (Lecky, ii, 47-8).

George II's opinion of Pope is recorded in Prior's *Life of Mahon* (1860), p. 369. "Who is this Pope that I hear so much about? I cannot discover what is his merit. Why will not my subjects write in prose?"

GIBSON, Edmund (1669-1748). *Sob. Adv.* 39. Bishop of Lincoln, 1716, Bishop of London 1723. Gibson was Walpole's ecclesiastical adviser until he opposed the Quakers' Tithe Bill (1736), but the alliance had lasted long enough to reconcile the Church towards the Hanoverian Succession. His most important work is the *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* (1719), of which Stubbs wrote, "This Collection of English Church Statutes is still the standard work and treasury of all sorts of such lore" (quoted by Sykes, p. 68). Gibson's "solid scholarship, his untiring industry, his practical sagacity, his sober piety, represent the best qualities of eighteenth-century churchmanship" (Sykes, p. 393). See also RUNDLE, Thomas.

GILDON, Charles (1665-1724). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 151. Miscellaneous writer. He attacked Pope in *A New Rehearsal* (1714), where he is represented as Sawney Dapper, "an easy Versifyer, Conceited and a Contemner secretly of all others." Pope is accused of having written commendatory verses addressed to him by Wycherley, and reflections are cast upon his ignorance of Greek, the bawdiness

[illegible]

GONSON, Sir John (1611-1682). D.D., 1652. Justice of the Peace, Deput. Chairman of the Western Circuit, 1661-1662; Chairman, 1722. His charges to the grand jury were collected and printed in 1722. They were said to have been strictly followed by Orator Hayley. In one of them he recommended severe punishment for flagrant and profane language, to which perhaps Pope alludes in *1.2.6*. In 1631 he was nominated to a committee of justices to inquire into the state of disorderly houses. His zeal in suppressing them was recorded by Hogarth, who has represented them entering the Harlots' lodgings in *The Harlots' Fire* (pl. 3). In 1733 he was appointed to inquire into the fees of the several offices belonging to the Court of Chancery. In the same year he (for a namesake) was elected a trustee of the Georgia Society, and in 1735 of the S.P.C.K., which he supported as a subscribing member from 1727 until his death. [Hogarth's *Worked Nichols*, 1801, i. 50f, *Ignom.*, *passim*, *London Journal*, Jan. 2, 9, 1731, *British Chronologist*, James Millar's *Harlequin-Horace*, 1731, p. 34.]

COWER Baron See **Leveson, Cower**

GRANVILLE, [ar] See Caricini

GRANVILLE, George, Baron Lansdowne (1667-1735) *Ip to Arbuthnot*, 135. Poet and Statesman. Secretary-at-war, 1710. Treasurer of the Household, 1713, removed, 1714, and imprisoned in the Tower, 1715-17, on suspicion of Jacobitism. Granville wrote commendatory verses for Dryden's translation of Virgil (1697), and in the following year, on the occasion of Granville's tragedy *Heracleus*, Dryden returned the compliment with verses in which he mentions their friendship. Pope was introduced to Granville by Wycherley about the year 1706 (see Granville's *Works*, 1792, i, 437); he submitted the *Pastorals* for his inspection (see *Spring* 12) and dedicated *Windsor Forest* to him.

de GREY, Henry, Duke of Kent, (1671-1740). *Ep.* i i 88. Lord Chamberlain of the Household, 1704-10; Lord Steward of the Household, 1710-19; Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1719-20. The Earl of Hardwicke, in a note on Burnet's *History*, vi 13, wrote of him, "This noble lord was so humourous, proud, and capricious, that he was rather a ministry spoiler than a ministry maker," and the Earl of Dartmouth (see i. 88n) believed that his money procured him the Lord Chamberlain's staff. Swift added to Macky's character, which is more favourable, "He seems a good natured Man, but of very little consequence" (Macky's *Memoirs*, 1733, p. 95). See further G.H.C.

HALE, Richard (1670-1728). *Ep.* i i 173. F.R.C.P., 1716. Delivered the Harveian oration in 1724. "He studied insanity, and was famous for his extreme kindness to lunatics" (DNB). It is surprising that Pope should have been unaware that Hale was dead, for his friend Jon. Richardson had been employed to make a copy of his portrait in 1733, and Monro, whom Pope mentions in *Ep.* ii ii 70, had been appointed physician at Bedlam in his place.

He should not be confused with Stephen Hale, Minister of Teddington, who witnessed Pope's will (Spence, p. 293, and *Moral Ex.* ii 198).

HALIFAX, Earl of. See Montagu, Charles.

HARDWICKE, Earl of. See Yorke.

HARE, Francis (1671-1740). *Ep.* i i 82n; *Sob. Adv.* 25n; 1740, 56. Chaplain general to the army in Flanders, 1704. Dean of St Paul's, 1726-40. Bishop of St Asaph, 1727. Bishop of Chichester, 1727. Hare, who had been Walpole's tutor, was a loyal Whig. He was a strong candidate for the Archbishopric of Canterbury on Wake's death in 1737 (Hervey, pp. 547, 652). His preaching is mentioned in *Dunciad* B iii 204.

HARRIS, John (1680-1738). *Dia.* i i 34. Dean of Hereford, 1729-36; Bishop of Llandaff, 1729-38; Dean of Wells, 1736-8. Harris is believed to have been the author of a foolish pamphlet entitled *A Treatise upon the Modes: or, a Farewell to French Kicks*, 1715. In this work, with attempted facetiousness, he ridicules everything French in order to dispose of French leadership in fashion. Swift and Pope come in for contemptuous reference: Swift is accused of plagiarism in *The Battle of the Books* (p. ii), and Harris suggests that the mother of the author of *A Tale of a Tub* must have been drunk at his conception (p. 41); "a certain Poet of this Nation" has borrowed all his wit from Boileau (p. 40), and Harris goes on to describe how this same poet was "about three Years ago (as it is said) carry'd before a Justice, for riding in a Full-bottom'd Wig: The Country imagining that he had kill'd a Man, and had not Time to Undress" (p. 44).

HAY, George, seventh Earl of Kinnoull (d. 1728). *Ep.* i vi 121. One of the twelve peers created by Harley and St John in 1711 to ensure a majority in the

House of Lords for the treaty of Utrecht. Placed under arrest in 1715 on suspicion of supporting the Jacobite Rebellion. Succeeded to his father's title, 1719. Ambassador at Constantinople, 1721-33. He married a daughter of Harley.

Some idea of Kinnoull's character may be gained from the following extracts from the Portland Papers (Hist. MSS. Comm., vii 326-7: "I heard of all Kinnoull's usage of her from T. Dea when he was with me. But as I observed before to you, is it to be wondered at from one who uses such a wife, and his own family, in so vile a manner. But if I am informed right, he is likely to pay for it in this world, and will not be able to get so much as bread in a little time. Should that be his case . . . I think he ought to be left to die in a ditch." The Rev. Dr W. Stratford to the second Earl of Oxford, Kinnoull's brother-in-law). Swift wrote to the Earl of Oxford in 1735, "I had always the greatest esteem for my Lady Kinnoull, and yet mingled with the greatest commiseration, because I never was so deceived in any man as in her Lord, whom I exceedingly loved in the Queen's time" (vi 61).

HEATHCOTE, Sir Gilbert (1652-1733). *Ep.* ii 249. One of the founders of the Bank of England, of which he was appointed Governor, 1704. Lord Mayor, 1710-11. The prototype, it is believed, of Addison's Sir Andrew Freeport. He was reputed to be the richest commoner in England, and died worth £700,000. He seems to have owed his reputation for parsimony to a dispute (1712) with the parson of his parish over his brother's funeral fees; his objection, however, was for paying fees for the same corpse in two places (see E. D. Heathcote, *Account of the Families of Heathcote*, 1899, pp. 85, 242). Heathcote bought the estate of Normanton in Lincolnshire about the year 1729. See also *Moral Es.* iii 101.

HENLEY, John (1692-1756). *Donne*, iv 51; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 98; *Dia.* i 66. An eccentric preacher. After a short period within the church, he decided to leave it, and he set up his pulpit first in Newport market in 1726, and later in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He took especial pride in his elocution, the secrets of which he used to teach. On weekdays he conducted an academy where "Gentlemen skill'd in the Languages . . . or any part of Useful and Elegant Erudition" were "handsomely encouraged to read their Lectures." "University Learning" was taught, "as also the Faculty of Mastering any Branch of Knowledge, Composition, and Elocution." See further Pope's note to *Dunciad* B iii 199.

HERVEY, John, Baron Hervey of Ickworth (1696-1743). *Sat.* ii i 6; *Donne*, iv 178; *Sat.* ii ii 101; *Sob. Adv.* 2, 30, 92; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 149, 305 ff, 363, 380; *Ep.* ii i 105; *Dia.* i 50, 71; 1740, 57. Eldest surviving son of the Earl of Bristol. Married (1720) Pope's friend, Mary Lepel. His interest in politics dated from his return from a foreign tour in 1729, though he had held the family seat of Bury St Edmunds since 1725. Efforts were made by Pulteney to enlist him in the opposition, but Hervey reckoned that the Government was secure. He threw in his lot with Walpole and was appointed Vice-Chamberlain (1730), a post
bb

which so well illustrated that he ought to be employed in civil and domestic and political affairs, and at the same time Walpole was entrusted a seat in the palace. His record of the year 1711, and *Mem. of the Reign of King George I.* first published in 1741, are proof of the high character of his performance. In 1740 Walpole was appointed one of the lords of the Great Seal, and in 1741 he was made Lord of the Treasury. He died a year later in the 81st year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His portrait is in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, and is also in the collection of the National Gallery. His portrait is in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, and is also in the collection of the National Gallery.

HILL, Mary Viscountess Hillsborough (1714-1745). The daughter of Anthony Rowland Maxwell Hill. Her first husband was Sir Edmund Denton, whom she married in 1700. Two years after his death in 1714 she married Trevor Hill, Viscount Hillsborough, and bore him two children in the years immediately succeeding their marriage. Who Jeffries was or when he entered their life is not known. According to Horace Walpole, he went with Lady Hillsborough 'on a Party of pleasure to the Spa' where they were found together by Mrs Heysham and Lady Buck, friends of Lady Hillsborough, who reported the incident to her husband. An anonymous annotator of a copy of *Sober Advice* in the Bodleian Library confirms the tale. Two months after the publication of *Sober Advice*, on March 11, 1734-5, Lord Hillsborough laid his petition before the House of Lords for bringing in a bill to dissolve his marriage. The bill was read for the first time on March 28, and a second reading deferred for a month on April 18. But in the meanwhile Parliament had been prorogued on May 15, and the bill automatically died. Since no more is heard of it, we may assume that Lord Hillsborough had insufficient money to reintroduce it, especially as his debts are mentioned in another bill of March 11. If we may believe Hearn, his moral character was no better than his wife's.

HILLSBOROUGH, Viscountess. See Hill.

HINTON, Viscount. See Poulett.

HOADLY, Benjamin (1676-1761). *Donne*, iv 73, 1740, 58. Successively Bishop of Bangor (1715), Hereford (1721), Salisbury (1723), and Winchester (1734). The able leader of the low Church party, and centre of the Bangorian Controversy, which he provoked by a sermon on the Nature of the Kingdom, or Church, of Christ (1717). In this work he maintained an extreme protestant position, that Christ "is Sole Law-giver to his Subjects, and Sole Judge, in matters relating to Salvation. His *Laws* and *Sanctions* are plainly fixed: and relate to the Favour of God; and not at all to the Rewards, or Penalties, of *this World*. All his Subjects are *equally* his Subjects; and, as such, *equally* without Authority to alter, to add to, or to *interpret*, his *Laws* so, as to claim the absolute Submission of *Others* to such *Interpretation*" (*Works*, 1773, ii 409). See *Dunciad* Bii 400.

HOLLAND, Baron. See Fox, Henry.

HOUGH, J. L. 1974. *Descriptive Methods of Ornithology*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York. 431 pp.

HOWARD Mary (née Theobald) 1694-1764. *Daughter* of Governor to the Princess Mar and Louise, Mar and Her to Queen Caroline and the Duke of Devonshire. She married Henry Scott Earl of Delorain in 1740 and bore a son in 1742. She married William Warrham in 1744 who was said to have helped Hervey in 1745. Mary with Hervey to the *Imitator*. *Hervey* Earl of Oxford was in the Bodleian Library. Hervey reports that she was very kind to me when I was a child but she was a very bad tempered child. A strong tone and a false heart and was always making bad work. Bishop Douglas of Salisbury told Malherbe that she attempted to poison a certain Mary McKenzie another maid of honour, because of an infatuation for Mary McKenzie a lover a story which was independently related by the Duke of Manchester in *Court and Society* 1864, p. 330. This is no doubt to what Pope refers. See G.E.C. and Suffolk, 1260.

HUGGINS John d. 1745. *Dia* 114 Warden of the Fleet prison, 1713. He sold the office for £5,000 in 1728. In the following year, Oglethorpe's commission reported to the House of Commons on the state of the debtors' prison, and in consequence of the report the House resolved that Huggins was guilty of great breaches of trust (of extortions) and of cruelties, and recommended that he should be prosecuted. He was tried before Justice Page *q.v.* in May 1729 for the murder of Edward Arne, a prisoner, and was acquitted (Howell's *State Trials*, vol. xxv). During his trial, he called "vast numbers of gentlemen of the first quality" to testify to his character, thus showing that he "knew the Town." He was appointed High Bailiff of Westminster in 1745.

HUME, Hugh, third Earl of Marchmont (1708-1794) *Died* 11 130, 1740, 79. Styled Lord Polwarth, 1724-40 M.P. for Berwick, 1734-40 Polwarth was one of the "lax patriots," belonging to that section of the Whig party which opposed the government. Walpole had a great respect for his ability. He is reported to have said, "When I have answered Sir John Barnard and Lord Polwarth, I think I have concluded the debate" (Coxe, II 566), and again "There are few things I more ardently wish, than to see that young man at the head of his family" (Nichols, II 614). His wish was fulfilled in 1740 when Polwarth by suc-

ceeding to his father's title was excluded from the House of Commons. This happened at the time of Wyndham's death, and the double loss to the debating power of the opposition is reflected in Pope's fragmentary poem 1740, ll. 79, 80. Marchmont returned to Parliament as a representative of the Scottish Peers in 1750 and became Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland in 1764. It was his boast that he never gave a vote or spoke from an interested motive, during all the years that he sat in the two Houses (Nichols, *op. cit.*). The high opinion which Walpole, Bolingbroke, and Pope formed of Marchmont leaves little room for doubting his ability, yet Alexander Carlyle, a shrewd and not ungenerous critic of character, writes of him: "Marchmont was lively and eloquent in conversation, with a tincture of classical learning, and some knowledge of the constitution . . . but his wit appeared to me to be petulant, and his understanding shallow" (*Autobiography*, 1910, p. 276).

Pope met Marchmont late in life. He mentions him in a letter to Swift (May 17, 1739) with Cornbury and Murray as some of the young people whose friendship he was cultivating, "with whom I would never fear to hold out against all the corruption in the world." And this was the tone in which he corresponded with him. In a few years they reached terms of sufficient intimacy for Pope to appoint Marchmont one of his executors. See also *On his Grotto* (vol. vi).

HYDE, Henry, Viscount Cornbury and Baron Hyde (1710-53). *Ep.* i vi 61, 1740, 18[?]. Great-grandson of Charles II's minister. M.P. for Oxford, 1732. In spite of his sympathies with the Opposition, he refused to take part in the attempt to depose Walpole in 1741. His honesty and wit received general applause; Bolingbroke addressed his *Letters on the Study of History* to him, and Thomson commended his poetry and his polished manners in *Summer*, l. 1424. Pope may have met Cornbury as early as 1717 (EC ix 277), but they do not seem to have become familiar until 1735. After that date, Pope often stayed at Cornbury's London house, and there are numerous references to him in Pope's correspondence, showing the high opinion in which Pope held him. He wrote to Swift on May 17, 1739, "There is a Lord Cornbury, a Lord Polwarth, a Mr. Murray, and one or two more, with whom I would never fear to hold out against all the corruption in the world." Cornbury addressed to him some lines on the *Essay on Man*, q.v.

ILCHESTER, Earl of. See Fox, Stephen.

JANSEN, Sir Henry (d. 1766). *Donne*, ii 88. Son of Sir Theodore Jansen, a Director of the South Sea Company. He succeeded his brother as baronet in 1765. Pope mentions him again at *Dunciad*, iv 326.

JEKYLL, Sir Joseph (1663-1738). *Dia.* i 39; 1740, 63[?]. A Whig of the old school and, according to Burke, "the very standard of Whig principles in his age." He was prominently engaged in the impeachments of Sacheverell (1710) and Oxford (1717). Master of the Rolls, 1717. Took a leading part in exposing the

South Sea Directors, 1720. Introduced the Gin Act, 1736 (see *Dia.* i 130f.). Lord Hervey, who was a Whig of a younger generation, held him in low esteem: "He was an impracticable old fellow . . . with no great natural perspicuity of understanding . . . His principal topics for declamation in the House were generally economy and liberty; and, though no individual in the House ever spoke of him with esteem or respect, but rather with a degree of contempt and ridicule, yet, from his age, and the constant profession of having the public good at heart beyond any other point of view, he had worked himself into such a degree of credit with the accumulated body that he certainly spoke with more general weight, though with less particular approbation, than any other single man in that assembly" (*Memoirs*, pp. 419-20).

KENNETT, White (1660-1726). *Ep.* ii ii 220. Dean of Peterborough, 1708; Bishop of Peterborough, 1718. An antiquary of merit.

KENT, Duke of. see Grey, de.

KENT, William (1684-1748). *Dia.* ii 67. "Author of the modern taste in English [landscape] gardening; or in other words, the First who discovered that the Imitation of Nature was the true Style in gardening, as in all other Arts" (Walpole's note to Mason's *Heroic Epistle*, ed. Toynbee, 1926, p. 39). Pelham bought Esher in 1729 and employed Kent to alter the house and design the garden. Walpole wrote of it to George Montagu (August 11, 1748) "Esher I have seen again twice, and prefer it to all villas . . . Kent is Kentissime there." Kent's practice in gardening accorded with the views Pope had expressed in the fourth *Moral Essay*. Some letters which have survived (*Hut. MSS. Comm.*, 2nd Report, p. 19) show that he was on terms of considerable intimacy with Pope at this time (1738). He painted Pope's portrait; but as a painter he was "below mediocrity." As an architect, he was "a restorer of the science" (Walpole, *Anec. Painting*, iii 57).

KINNOULL, Earl of. see Hay.

KNELLER, Sir Godfrey (1646-1723). *Ep.* ii ii 24; i 382. Portrait-painter of German birth. He settled in England in 1675, and was patronized by Charles II and each successive monarch. Knighted and pensioned, 1691; created a baronet 1715. Kneller's country house was at Whitton in the parish of Twickenham. He was therefore a neighbour of Pope, but they had met at least as early as 1717 before Pope moved from Chiawick (see Pope's letter to Caryll, August 6, 1717). Kneller painted Pope's portrait (see Pope's letters to Lord Harcourt, August 22, 1723; Sherburn, p. 308) and gave him some other paintings which were bequeathed to Lord Bathurst (*Works*, 1751, ix 369). At Kneller's dying request Pope wrote his epitaph (see vol. vi), verses which he later declared to be the worst he had ever written (Spence, p. 165). Many stories of Kneller's vanity, which Pope used to tell, are recorded in Spence's *Anecdotes*.

LANSDOWNE, Baron. See Granville.

LEE, Nathaniel (1653?-1692). *Sat.* ii i 100. Tragic dramatist; his most famous play, *The Rival Queens*, was performed in 1677. In 1684, his mind failed and he was removed to Bedlam, where according to Tom Brown (*Letters from the Dead to the Living, Bully Dawson to Bully W: Works*, 1715, ii 226), he wrote a tragedy in twenty-five acts. After his release in 1689, he published *The Princess of Cleves* (1689) and *The Massacre of Paris* (1690).

LEKE, Nicholas, fourth Earl of Scarsdale (1682-1736). *Sat.* ii i 46. One of the dissentient Tory peers at Atterbury's trial. He also assisted at Sacheverell's trial and Bolingbroke's impeachment. Rowe wrote an imitation of the fourth ode of Horace's second book, chaffing Scarsdale for his love for Mrs Bracegirdle.

LEVESON-GOWER, John, Baron (later, Earl) Gower (1694-1754). 1740, 23. Gower was a Tory with recognized Jacobite sympathies. His acceptance of the post of Lord Privy Seal in Wilmington's administration, which he held with the intermission of a year from 1742 till his death, was therefore a matter for surprise and jesting. Nevertheless he showed the sincerity of his conversion by raising a regiment of foot to assist the government in the '45 rebellion. The extent of Pope's acquaintance with Gower is not known, apart from a letter which Pope is believed to have written to him on Johnson's behalf after the publication of *London*. (H. Walpole to Mann, June 17, July 14, 1742; EC v. 326; *Spalding Club Miscellanies*, 1846, iii 17.)

LEWIS, Erasmus (1670-1754). *Sat.* ii vi 35. The devoted political servant of Harley, who employed him first as private secretary (1704), later as under-secretary of state in the Earl of Dartmouth's (Southern) Department, and after his fall from power as steward. Lewis was on friendly terms with Swift, whom he introduced to Harley (*Journal to Stella*, Sept. 30, Oct. 3, 1710), with Lord Bathurst, Arbuthnot, and Pope. Pope occasionally lodged with him at his house in Cork Street, Piccadilly (B. M. Egerton MS. 1946 f. 19), and bequeathed him five pounds to be laid out in a memorial ring.

LIDDEL (or LYDDEL), Richard (d. 1746). *Sob. Adv.* 178. M.P. for Bos-siney. Lord Chesterfield appointed him his secretary on going to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant in 1745. "I remember, when I named the late Mr Liddel for my Secretary, everybody was much surprised at it; and some of my friends represented to me, that he was no man of business, but only a very genteel, pretty young fellow; I assured them, and with truth, that that was the very reason why I chose him; for that I was resolved to do all the business myself, and without even the suspicion of having a minister" (Chesterfield to his son, 26 Feb., 1754).

LINTOT, Barnaby Bernard (1675-1736). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 62. Bookseller.

Lintot started business relations with Pope in 1712 when he published *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations*, which contains the first version of *The Rape of the Lock*, and other poems. In subsequent years Lintot published *Windor Forest*, the revised version of the *Rape*, *The Temple of Fame*, *The Ruin*, the first volume of the collected works, and *The Odyssey*. Over the publication of *The Odyssey* there was constant bickering. Lintot appears to have refused free copies to Broome's subscribers and to have worked against the public subscription (Sherburn, pp. 255-7), at which Pope showed his resentment not only in letters to Broome, but also by placing Lintot in *The Dunciad* (A ii 49-64). The quarrel seems to have been composed in 1735, for Lintot was persuaded to join with Gulliver in publishing a new edition of Pope's works in octavo, the first volume of which (Griffith No. 413) was issued in January 1736 (see Lintot's letter to Broome, Aug. 26, 1735; EC viii 170).

LUMLEY, Richard, second Earl of Scarborough (1688?-1740). *Dia.* ii 65; 1740, 78. Master of the Horse to George II, when Prince of Wales, 1714-27, and when King, 1727-34. He committed suicide on the eve of his marriage with the Duchess of Manchester. Pope and Hervey regarded him equally highly. Hervey described him as having "all the gallantry of the [camp] and the politeness of the [court] . . . [a man of] knowledge, application, and observation, an excellent judgment, and . . . a discerning, practical, useful, sound understanding" (*Memoirs*, pp. 70-1). Nothing is known of his acquaintance with Pope.

LYTTLETON, George, first Baron Lyttleton (1709-73). *Ep.* i 1 29; *Dia.* i 47; ii 131. M.P. Okehampton (opposition Whig), 1735-56. Secretary to the Prince of Wales (1737), and an eager and acrimonious opponent of Walpole, after whose fall he was made one of the Lords of the Treasury (1744). Privy Councillor, 1754; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1756. He was a patron of Mallet and Thomson, and Fielding dedicated *Tom Jones* to him. His poems were collected in the bookseller's edition for which Johnson wrote his life; amongst them is a verse epistle addressed to Pope from Rome in 1730, which Pope had included among the commendatory poems in later editions of his works. He was one of a number of young politicians whose friendship Pope was cultivating in the last years of his life; he told Swift (October 12, 1738) that Lyttleton was "a very particular and very deserving friend, one of those whom his own merit has forced me to contract an intimacy with, after I had sworn never to love a man more, since the sorrow it cost me to have loved so many, now dead, banished, or unfortunate." Lyttleton's "virtue," which is to be seen so clearly in his correspondence with Pope, appeared in a different light to his political opponents: Lord Hervey declared that he "had a great flow of words that were always uttered in a lulling monotony, and the little meaning they had to boast of was generally borrowed from the commonplace maxims and sentiments of moralists, philosophers, patriots, and poets, crudely imbibed, half digested, ill put together, and confusedly refunded" (*Memoirs*, p. 388); and the opinion of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams was scarcely more flattering (*Works*, i 65).

MANSFIELD, Earl of See Murray

MARCHMONI, Lord of See Hunt

MARLBOROUGH first Duke of See Churchill

MARLBOROUGH third Duke of See Spencer

MLAD, Richard (1673-1734) *1p* 1151 Physician to St. George's Hospital 1703-13, and Physician in ordinary to Queen Anne. One of the best of the also a considerable classical scholar and intimate with Bentley. He is said to have owned the largest collection of books and MSS. in the country (*M. 11* 14-16). Pope was under his care in 1713 (see letter to Garth *11* 11-13, 23 that year). Mead's respect for Pope was shown in a letter to the latter's father Maty (p. 62), by his placing a portrait of Pope in his library.

MELCOMBE, Baron See Doxington

METHUEN, Sir Paul (1672-1757) *1740*, 20 Ambassador to Portugal 1706-13, to Spain, 1714 Secretary of State, 1716 Successively Comptroller and Treasurer of the Household, 1720-30 Methuen had quitted his post according to Hervey (p. 101), because he was disappointed at not being made Secretary of State once more. Hervey credits him with "a mixture of Spanish firmity and English roughness, strongly seasoned with pride, and not untintured with honour. He was romantic in his turn to the highest degree of absurdity, odd, impracticable, passionate, and obstinate, a thorough coxcomb, and a little mad. After he had quitted he went too often to Court to be well with the Opposition, and too seldom to Parliament to be well with either side, a conduct which procured him the agreeable mixed character of courtier without profit, and a country gentleman without popularity" (p. 102). Gray describes him amongst those who welcomed Pope on his "return from Greece":

I first see I Methuen of sincerest mind,
As Arthur grave, as soft as womankind

MIDDLETON, Conyers (1683-1750). *Dia* 175. Cambridge theologian and opponent of Bentley. University Librarian, 1721 His *Life of Cicero*, dedicated to Hervey, was published in 1741. Its style was accorded a century of admiration and impressed Pope sufficiently to include Middleton's name in a list of twenty prose-writers considered authoritative for an English Dictionary (Spence, p. 310). On Middleton's death Gray wrote to Wharton expressing his sense of loss, for Middleton's "House was the only easy Place one could find to converse in at Cambridge" (August 9, 1750).

MONRO, James (1680-1752). *Ep.* 11 li 70. Physician to Bethlehem hospital, in succession to Richard Hale (*q. v.*), 1728; F.R.C.P., 1729; delivered the Har-

(c) $r_k = 1$ if $k \in H$ and $r_k = 0$ if $k \in H^c$.
 (d) $r_k = 1$ if $k \in H$ and $r_k = 0$ if $k \in H^c$.
 (e) $r_k = 1$ if $k \in H$ and $r_k = 0$ if $k \in H^c$.

[illegible]

MONTEAGUE Edward Wrexley 1686-1761. Sir from 16, 17 from 33 M.P. Huntingdon 1701-13, 1722-31 Westminster 1705-22 Peterborough, 1733 for Marn & Lady Mary 1712. Lord Chamberlain of the Treasury 1715, Ambassador at Constantinople 1716-17. Gave seat at Wharton Jan. 31 1761. 'You see old Wrexley Montagu dead at last at 75 years of age & his companion death once that kept him alive so long he every day drank 'I think it was half a pint of Tokay' which he imported himself from Hungary in greater quantity than he could use & sold the Overplus for any price he chose to set upon it. He has left better than half a million of money. (Beaton)

MONTAGU Edward Wortley (1713-76). *Sat. 111.56*. Son of Edward Wortley Montagu and Lady Mure. He appears to have been more or less insane, and started a mad career (for which see *Nich. 119.62.56* and *DNB*) by running away from school several times. While indulging in various noisy adventures at home and abroad he was nominally representing Huntingdon County in Parliament, 1747-53.

MONTAGU, Lady Mary Wortley (1689-1762) *Sat* ii 183 *Sat* ii 49, *Sob* *Adv.* 2, 18, 125, 166, *Fp* in *Arbutnot*, 101, 169, *Donne*, ii 6, *Ep* ii 164, *Dia.* i 15, 112, ii 20 Daughter of Evelyn Pierrepont, afterwards Duke of Kingston Married (1712) Edward Wortley Montagu. She accompanied him to Constantinople when he was appointed ambassador in 1716, and wrote home some of those letters upon which her wide contemporary reputation as a female wit may be judged. On her return to England in 1718 she added to her fame by introducing the practice of inoculation for smallpox. From 1739 till her husband's death in 1761 she spent her time in foreign travel. An account of her relations with Pope will be found in the Introduction, pp. xv-xix.

MOORL, Arthur (1666-1730) *Ip to Isbuthart* 23 M.P. for Cirencester. A man of varied experience in politics and business. In *Mr P's* *He is a Frenchman* Gay refers to his "gravity," which seems to have been offended by the "riddleness" of his son.

MOORE, James, son of Arthur. See Smythe.

MORDAUNT, Charles, third Earl of Peterborough and first Earl of Monmouth (1658-1735). *Sat* II 129. Pope and Peterborough were on friendly terms; as early as 1723, they had not only scholarly and artistic interests in common but a love of gardening, to which there are several references in their correspondence (LC x 184-94). Peterborough had retired from the army and the court to his gardening on George I's accession. Lady Hervey described his comical appearance at Bath to Mrs Howard: "with his blue ribbon and stir, and a cabbage under each arm, or a chicken in his hand, which, after he himself has purchased at market, he carries home for his dinner" (*Suffolk* 183). He lived at Bevis Mount, Southampton, where Pope frequently visited him. His last illness was long and painful. During its course, Pope paid him assiduous attention both at Kensington and later at Southampton (see letters to Caryll, May 12, 1735, and to Martha Blount, Aug. 25, 1735, and Spence, p. 151), he received as a legacy from Peterborough the watch which the King of Sicily had given him (EC vii 336).

MOTTEUX, Peter Anthony (1660-1718). *Donne*, iv 50. A French immigrant. Besides other literary activities as dramatist and journalist, he completed Urquhart's translation of Rabelais (1694, 1708) and translated *Don Quixote* (1712). Pope mentions his loquacity in *Dunciad* A II 382, and classes him in *Peri Bathous*, ch. 6, amongst the eels, "obscure authors, that wrap themselves up in their own mud, but are mighty nimble and pert."

MULGRAVE, Earl of. See Sheffield.

MURRAY, William, first Earl of Mansfield (1705-93). *Od* IV 110, *Ep* II 132, I vi 3, *et passim*. Murray was called to the Bar in 1730. He gained fame and popularity by his eloquent speech before the House of Commons in support of the merchants' petition concerning the Spanish depredations, 1738. M.P. (Whig) Boroughbridge, 1742-56; Solicitor-General, 1742-54; Attorney-General, 1754-6. "He was the trusted leader and almost the entire prop of the Government" in the Duke of Newcastle's administration. Lord Chief Justice, 1756-88. Campbell (*Lives of the Lord Chief Justices*, II 330) records that Pope undertook to teach him oratory—"not the composition of orations, but the varying attitudes and intonation with which they should be delivered." As an orator, he was rivalled only by Pitt.

NEEDHAM, Mother (d. 1731). *Sob. Adv.* 133. The proprietress of a notorious

gestures (*Memoirs*, p. 7), and Walpole called him out for it in a letter to the Duke of Devonshire (*Memoirs of the Duke of Devonshire*, vol. ii, p. 11). Walpole was devoted to the interests of the House of Commons, and connected with Thomson, who audited *Intimacy* him (vol. ii, p. 11).

ORFORD, Earl of. See Walpole.

OXLINDEN, Sir George (1644-1727). *See* vol. i, p. 11. M.P. for Sudbury, 1720-54. Lord of the Admiralty, 1734. Lord of the Treasury, 1737-38. He was patronized by Sir Robert Walpole into becoming a courtier-in-law. It is to this and to his seduction of his own daughter that his fall is due. His character is drawn at considerable length in Lord Hervey's *Memoirs*, p. 741.

PAGE, Sir Francis (1661?-1741). *See* vol. i, p. 11. Baron of the Exchequer, 1718-26, transferred to the Common Pleas, 1726, and to the King's Bench, 1727. In that year he sentenced Savage for murder, and treated him, says Johnson (*Life of Savage*), "with his usual insolence and severity." Bishop Douglas of Salisbury told Malone that he had been present when a man was brought before Page for horse-stealing. As soon as the prisoner was led into court, Page remarked, "A very ill-looking fellow, I have no doubt of his guilt." The man was innocent, and was acquitted. But in justice to Page it must be admitted that his behaviour in those trials, of which verbatim reports exist—e.g. the trial of Huggins, reported in Howell's *State Trials*, vol. xvii, appears to have been decent. *See* also Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Book viii, Ch. xi.

PAGE, Sir Gregory (1695?-1775). *See* vol. i, p. 11. Son of Sir Gregory (d. 1720), the first baronet, and director of the East India Company. The Earl of Egmout records that the second Sir Gregory built himself a fine house at Blackheath at the cost of £150,000; yet according to G.C. (*Complete Baronetage*), he purchased the estate of Wrinklemarsh in Charlton, Kent, in 1723. He attempted suicide in 1736, on which the Earl of Egmout, his neighbour, commented "Some say it was for fear of starving; others that he was jealous of his wife, but I believe it was for want of knowing how to employ his time, for he was thoroughly neglected in his education by his father, which made him avoid company, and being alone he knew no way to amuse himself but by walking out of one room into another . . ." (*Diary*, li 251).

PAKINGTON, Sir Herbert Perrot (1701?-1748). *See* vol. i, p. 11. M.P. Wiltshire, 1727-41. Died in Holland (*Genl. Mag.*, 1748, p. 476).

PALMER, Sir Thomas (1682-1723). *See* vol. i, p. 11. M.P. Kent, 1708-10; Rochester, 1715-23. The second of his three wives, Susanna Cox (d. 1721), was an actress; she performed in revivals of Mountfort's *The Successful Strangers*, 1710, and of his *Greenwich Park*, 1715 (A. S. Bergman's *Life and Death of William Mountfort*, 1985, pp. 192, 193). Whether Palmer's other wives were actresses, or

where it was first published. He had written it in 1741, and it was published in 1742.

PARNELL, John (d. 1741). A poet and dramatist. He wrote *The Rival* (1739), *The Indian* (1740), and *The Rival* (1741). He was a friend of Johnson's and was one of the first to introduce him to the public.

PASSERAN, John (d. 1741). A poet and dramatist. He wrote *The Rival* (1739), *The Indian* (1740), and *The Rival* (1741).

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PELHAM, Henry (1697-1754). *Tha. n. l.* A consistent supporter of Walpole. Secretary at War, 1724. Paymaster of the Forces, 1731. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1741, and virtually Prime Minister after 1746.

PELHAM, Thomas Duke of Newcastle (1693-1768). *Ep. n. l.* 293. Brother of Henry Pelham. Secretary of State, 1724-54. First Lord of the Treasury (i.e. Prime Minister), 1754-6, 1757-62.

PENKEITHMAN, William (d. 1725). *Ep. n. l.* 293. A comic actor who "delighted more in the whimsical, than the natural" (Abber, *Apology*, Ch. v). Steele commended him in *Spectator*, No. 370. He played the part of *Underplot* in *Three Hours after Marriage* by Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot.

PETERBOROUGH, Earl of. See Mordaunt.

PHILIPS, Ambrose (1675?-1749). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 100, 179; *Ep. n. l.* 417.

Poet. His *Pastorals* were published in the same volume as *Persius* in 1711 and attracted the greater attention. In particular they were noticed in the *Guardian* in 1713, calling attention to Philip's merit and inducing Pope who accordingly contributed a sixth paper. No poem in his career surpassed Philip's *Pastorals* and his own, giving his preference to Philip's for reasons obviously absurd. Philip was extremely and entirely unscrupulous a little "switch" at Button's Coffee-House to caricature Pope's verse. See *Scribner*, pp. 117-21. It is not known what Philip intended to do with the ad libitum of a ludicrous "Nimby Pamby" ode to Walpole in 1724.

PHILLIPS, Teresa (Constantin 1701-1761). *Sat.* II, II, 11. A well-known courtesan, whose escapades seem to have been the talk of the town in the early '30s. The *Grub Street Journal* of December 13, 1733, announced a miscellany entitled *The Court Parrot*, whose principal attraction was "The life and progress of the noted Mrs C. Phillips, from her Marriage with D. J. la and afterwards with a certain Merchant, while her former Husband was living." Mr Phillips gained further notoriety by publishing a three-volume *Apology for her Conduct* (1748), written for her by Paul Whitehead (Hawkins, *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 336-7). This book, in which she libelled Lord Chesterfield, was competently answered by an anonymous *Defence of the Character of a Noble Lord* (1748), where Pope's estimate of her character is substantiated.

PITT, James (1679-1763). *Dial.* I, 66. A journalist in the government's pay, who defended its policy under the pseudonym of Francis Osborne in *The London Journal*, and after 1735 in *The Daily Gazetteer*. See *Dumriad Index*.

POLWARTH, Viscount. See Hume.

POPE, Alexander, the elder (1646-1717). *Sat.* II, II, 135; *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 130, 381-405; *Ep.* II, II, 54; *Ep.* I, VII, 79. The poet's father was the posthumous son of the Rev. Alexander Pope, Rector of Thruxton. He entered into partnership with his brother as a linen merchant and retired in 1688 worth £10,000, according to Martha Blount (Spence, p. 357). The penal laws directed against Roman Catholics—the reason and occasion of his change of religion is unknown—forced him to leave London first for Hammersmith and later, between 1698 and 1701, for Binfield in Windsor Forest, where he could indulge the taste for gardening which his son inherited. Mrs Pope told Spence (p. 8) that although her husband was no poet, he used to set his son "to make English verses when very young. He was pretty difficult in being pleased; and used often to send him back to new turn them. 'These are not good rhimes'; for that was my husband's word for verses." See Sherburne, pp. 29-37.

POPE, Mrs Edith (1642-1733). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 381-413. Except for her age, the information which Pope supplies about his mother in *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 381*ff.* is correct. From 1718 onwards there are frequent references in Pope's corre-

[illegible]

POLETTI, L. 1991. *La lingua italiana*. Roma: Loescher.

Stechow, P. 1986. *Reference and generality: II. Some medieval and modern theories*. *Journal of Philosophy* 83: 551-576.

Chomsky, N. 1965. *On the nature of grammar*. *Journal of Philosophy* 62: 1-21.

Chomsky, N. 1980. *Remarks on nominalization*. In R. Harnad, D. R. L. G. Harnad, and E. R. Stein, eds., *Cognition and the development of language*. New York: Wiley.

Harnad, S. 1990. *The cognitive basis for language*. In S. Harnad, ed., *The cognitive basis for language*. New York: Wiley.

PRIOR Mathew (1694-1728) was a friend of Pope's who became known as "the regular" in the register of letters written by Pope. He was called "the regular" latter being popularly known as "Matter-Pope." Prior wrote the firm Puritan Odes; Anne's death at sea occurred long after his death. His family circumstances were relieved by Oxford and Boston - prior died poor and miserly for the first reason. This poem is 14 lines in length. It is noted from the second guinea. The poem is what Pope refers to in his *The Dunciad* & *Antony Mouse* a reply to Dryden's *The Humours of the City*. Pope had collaborated with Charles Montagu, later Earl of Halifax, on some of the early Pope's acquaintance with Prior is uncertain. They discussed poetry often and Prior is mentioned by Gay as one of the friends who welcomed Pope on his return from Greece. But writing of Prior two years after his death Pope's tones are lukewarm. My respect for him living he tells Lord Huls Aug 24 1723 "extends to his memory." To Spence he was more outspoken "Prior," he said "was not a right good man. He used to bore himself for whole days and nights together with a poor mean creature and often drank hard" *Anecdotes*, p. 2 see also p. 175. But in each other's poetry they entertained a mutual pleasure. In the *Testimonies of Authors* prefixed to *The Thousand*, Pope quotes the praise of *Alfred to Athelard* which Prior had expressed in *Alma* and he included Prior and Swift alone among his contemporaries in a list of nine poets who would serve as authorities for poetical language in his proposed dictionary (Spence, pp. 310, 311). See also Pope's letter to Prior, Feb. 1720.

PULTENEY, Daniel (1684-1731: 1740, 77 Cousin of William Pulteney. He was related by marriage to Sunderland, who trusted him with his political secrets and intended to appoint him secretary of state in his administration if he managed to defeat Walpole. Speaker Onslow, who thought highly of his abilities, said that Pulteney, who represented Preston from 1722 till his death, was the first who endeavoured to systematize the parliamentary opposition to Walpole, giving up even his pleasures and his comforts for this object (Coxe, li 358-60).

PULINNEY, William Earl of Bath (1714-1791). *Dia.* i. 110-111. A 32 Secretary at War, 1714-17. Pulteney had a violent quarrel and opposition with him when Stanhope and Sunderland were out of office, disgusted at not being given a post when Walpole returned to office in 1721. He left him and became one of his nearest political opponents. He was a member of Commons, and in the pages of the *Cr. Chron.* 1721-1722. It is probable that he had been a probable the most graceful and brilliant speaker in the House of Commons in the interval between the withdrawal of Sir Robert Walpole's appearance of Pitt" (i. 338), and his enemy Lord Hervey wrote of him in 1722, while characterizing him as "a man of most inflexible principle, of noble ambition, and impatient of any superiority, admitted to be a man of lively ready wit as ever man was master of, and was by temper and temper and engrossed his thoughts, the most agreeable and most amiable of his time" (*Memoirs*, p. 7). Although he largely contributed to Walpole's fall, he enjoyed no triumph. He had once vowed never to take office on being accused of working only for his own interests, and now he made the false move of accepting a seat in the House of Lords as Earl of Bath. He lived for another twenty years, but his political reputation was dead.

On resigning office in 1717, Pulteney had gone abroad with Gray (Pope to Caryll, June 7), and it is possible that Pope met him at this time (Pope to Gray, Nov. 8). They are known to have been on visiting terms some years after (Pulteney to Pope, Aug. 13 and Sept. 4, 1724, to Swift, Feb. 9, 1731), but in the latter 1730's, Pope with other members of the Opposition began to suspect Pulteney's motives for opposing Walpole. Bolingbroke was probably pointing to him in a letter to Marchmont, Jan. 1, 1740 (quoted by Sir G. Young, *Poor Fred*, 1937, p. 152): "Two or three men have been labouring some years to turn a defence of the Constitution into a dirty intrigue of low ambition. They are preparing to continue Walpole's scheme of government in other hands," and events proved that Bolingbroke was right. Pope's compliment in *Dia.* ii. 84, shows that they had not quarrelled—in fact, Pope agreed with Wyndham that it was impolitic to quarrel with Pulteney (Pope to Lyttleton, Nov. 1739, conveying Wyndham's opinions)—but against this compliment must be set the covert allusions of *Dia.* i. 24, 1740, ll. 9-12, *Dunciad*, iv. 517 ff. A *Ballad* written by Pope and Pulteney is printed in vol. vi.

QUEENSBERRY, Duke of. See Douglas.

QUIN, James (1693-1766). *Ep.* ii. 331. The leading actor between the retirement of Booth and the rise of Garrick. He played the part of Second Player in *Three Hours after Marriage* by Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot.

RADCLIFFE, John (1653-1714). *Ep.* ii. 183. A physician with an extensive practice in London, who was respected for his sagacity in diagnosis rather than for his learning. He was frequently summoned to attend William III, Queen Mary, and Prince George of Denmark, and was the physician of Princess (later

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Kallithea, Greece, 1991. *Journal of the Marine Biological Association of the United Kingdom*, 71, 1-10.
 Wirtz, P. & Schmitt, C. (1997) The effects of the 1992-1993 El Niño on the reproductive success of the European hake, *Merluccius merluccius*, in the North Sea. *Journal of the Marine Biological Association of the United Kingdom*, 77, 1031-1044.
 Wirtz, P., Schmitt, C. & Schmitt, H. (1998) The effects of the 1992-1993 El Niño on the reproductive success of the European hake, *Merluccius merluccius*, in the North Sea. *Journal of the Marine Biological Association of the United Kingdom*, 78, 1031-1044.
 Wirtz, P., Schmitt, C. & Schmitt, H. (1999) The effects of the 1992-1993 El Niño on the reproductive success of the European hake, *Merluccius merluccius*, in the North Sea. *Journal of the Marine Biological Association of the United Kingdom*, 79, 1031-1044.

RADICAL: When I wrote *Passerani* (1733-37, D. 1.124) a Piedmontese fire-theater Holyday for children was presented and written here (*Philosophical Dissertation upon Death*) composed for the conclusion of the happy Holyday to which a holy water was created by one M. R. and published in 1734. In this book Passerani attempted to show by quoting the customs of other countries that there is nothing inherent in religion which western civilization has come to regard as immoral, such as heliocy, adultery, etc. at the promptings of our natural instinct should be desired, and that even if there is nothing wicked in yielding to the desire if we are prompted to commit it suicide for writing and publishing this work. Passerani, his translator and bookseller were taken into custody in November 1734 (*Cent. Mag.* 11, 100). *Epitome* records that on December 1 following he discussed the book with Queen Caroline and General Wade. The Queen expressed great resentment at the book, saying that its conclusions tended to destroy all society and virtue. *Dury* (199). Passerani died abroad the year before *Pope's Epilogue* was published. See A. Alberti's life of Passerani, in which the *Philosophical Dissertation* is reprinted (Turin, 1911).

RICH, John (1682? 1761), *Du* : 116 Owner of the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He introduced pantomime there in 1716 in which he invariably took the part of Harlequin, and in 1728 produced Gay's *Beggars' Opera*. He removed to the New Theatre in Covent Garden in 1732.

RIPLLY, Thomas (d 1748) *Ep.* 31 186 A carpenter who owed his advancement to Sir Robert Walpole, one of whose servants he married. He was employed in rebuilding the Customs House, 1718, and in carrying out Colin Campbell's designs for Walpole's seat in Norfolk, 1722-35, at the same time, 1724-6, he was architect for the Admiralty building. Pope had been even more severe

upon Ripley in a note: "Mr. Ripley to the Hon. Walpole, in explanation in *the Life of Walpole*, in 1741, that he had concurred to help on these censures. Ripley's account of this had not the countenance of the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Yet Ripley, in the mechanic part and in the disposal of the circumstances was unluckily superior to the Earl of Bath and Wells. He was not and Lord Walpole at Worcester, in 1741, that he had been in England, will, as long as they remain, a just testimony to his assistance."

ROWE, Nicholas (1674-1718). *Life of* by Herbert Strickland. 1911. For an account of Rowe's life, his best-known play being *Tam O'Shanter*, 1709. Rowe's friends of Shakespeare's plays. 1709. Part I. Rowe's life. 1709. Part II. Rowe's friends. After one of Rowe's visits to Buntingford, Pope wrote to him (Sept. 2, 1713), "I need not tell you how much I have enjoyed your visit. I am certain me, but I must acquaint you there is a visit in my heart. I dispense in almost peculiar to that gentleman, which renders it impossible for me to part with him without that uneasiness and chagrin which generally succeeds a visit of pleasures." Pope's epitaph on Rowe and his epilogue to Rowe's *John Shreave* are printed in vol. vi.

RUNDLE, Thomas (1688-1743). *Life of* by Edward Talbot. 1743. Talbot whose father the Bishop of Salisbury presented him first to a prebend in that diocese (1716), and later, on his translation to Durham, to a stall in his new diocese (1722). Rundle was Talbot's chaplain from 1722 until his death in 1743. In that year the see of Gloucester was expected to fall vacant, and Rundle was nominated to fill it by Talbot's elder son, the solicitor-general. But Griben, Bishop of London (q.v.) who was acting for Archbishop Wake, refused to accept the nomination on account of Rundle's reputed Arianism. The dispute grew so warm that Walpole was compelled to intervene, and fearing the antagonism of the clergy more than that of the solicitor-general, contrived to pacify Talbot by offering Rundle the reversion of the ancient see of Derry, to which he succeeded in 1735, and by appointing Benson to the see of Gloucester and Secker to the see of Bristol, both of whom had been former chaplains of the Bishop of Durham. This incident has been described as "the most serious ecclesiastical controversy since the banishment of Atterbury" (Sykes, p. 155). Rundle seems to have been generally esteemed, though Pope's enthusiasm, expressed in a letter to Swift on Rundle's appointment to Derry, is extravagant. "he will be a friend and benefactor even to your unfriended, unbenefited nation: he will be a friend to the human race, wherever he goes. . . I never saw a man so seldom whom I liked so much as Dr Rundle" (EC vii. 336).

SACKVILLE, Lionel Cranfield, Duke of Dorset (1688-1765). 1740, 61[2]. Son of Dryden's patron Lord Steward of the Household, 1725-30, 1737-45. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1730-7, 1751-5. Hanbury Williams wrote (*Poems*, i. 45):

1. The first group of variables includes the demographic characteristics of the respondent, such as age, sex, and education level. These variables are used to control for potential confounding factors that may influence the outcome variable.

SECTION III, 1, A

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Holmgren's conversation seems to have been equally impressive. Pope spoke of "the Feast of Heaven and the Flow of Souls" which he provided. Swift admired it (*Journal of Swift*, Nov. 3, 1713) and Chesterfield said that he "possessed such a flowing facility of expression that even his most familiar conversations if taken down in writing would have borne the press without the least correction."

While still in his teens, Belingbroke was also a great Dryden's friend before.⁷ He contributed connumerary verse to Dryden's translation of Virgil and was the first person to whom Dryden showed *Alexander's Feast* (*Dryden's Prose*, 11285).

SANDYS Samuel, Baron 1695, 1770 1740, 19 MP Worcester, 1718-43 Sandys was a member of the Whig Opposition, actuated rather by antagonism to Walpole than by any firmer political principles. On Walpole's fall he became Chancellor of the Exchequer in Wilmington's administration (1742), but after a short tenure of office was succeeded by Henry Pelham, 1743. In the same year he was raised to the peerage and gradually took less part in politics. His "gravity" is illustrated by a story which Horace Walpole related to Mann (Dec 24, 1741), that Sandys "never laughed but once, and that was when his best friend broke his thigh."

SAWBRIDGE, Thomas (d. 1733). *Sob. Adv.* 40. Chaplain in the East India Company at Tellichery, Bombay, 1723; Dean of Ferns and Leighlin, 1720-33 (Venn's *Alumni Cantab.*). Swift alluded to his indictment for rape in a letter to the Earl of Oxford, Aug. 28, 1730, and also made it the subject of a ballad, entitled *An Excellent New Ballad: or, The true En-sh D-n to be hang'd for a R-pe*, which was printed as a broadsheet, reprinted in the *Grub-Street Journal* on June 11, 1730, and in the *Pope-Swift Miscellanies*, vol. v. 1735.

SCARBOROUGH, Earl of. See Lumley.

SCARSDALE, Earl of. See Leke.

SCHUTZ, Augustus (d. 1757). *Ep.* i i 112. Master of the Robes and Keeper of the Privy Purse to George II. He seems to have had a reputation for gravity of demeanour; thus Horace Walpole writes of him to Mann, Oct. 16, 1742:

There's another Court-booby, at once hot and dull,
Your pious pimp, Schutz, a mean, Hanover tool;
For your card-play at night he too shall remain,
With virtuous and sober and wise Deloraine.

He and his brother, who was Keeper of the Prince of Wales's Privy Purse, were intimate friends of the Earl of Egmont (see *Diary, passim*); he also seems to have been acquainted with Martha Blount (Swift *Corr.* ed. Ball, iv 13).

SCOTT, Francis, Earl of Delorain (1710-1739). *Ep.* i i 90n. A Cornet of Horse. Stepson of "Delia," Countess of Delorain (*q.v.*).

SECKER, Thomas (1693-1768). *Ep.* i i 82n, *Dia.* ii 71. Rector of St James's, Westminster, 1733-50. Bishop of Bristol, 1734. Bishop of Oxford, 1737. Dean of St Paul's, 1750. Archbishop of Canterbury, 1758. Secker was conspicuous for his moderation and tolerance. Although an opponent of Hoadley (*q.v.*) he was in close touch with the Court. He deprecated methodist "enthusiasm," but did not persecute Wesley or his followers. "His agreeable person and outward behaviour, civility of manners, and discreet behaviour, together with the graceful delivery of his sermons, do all contribute to make him friends and give a lustre to his learning" (Egmont, ii 137).

SELKIRK, Earl of. See Douglas.

SERLE, John. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 1. Pope's gardener at Twickenham. Apologizing to Allen for being unable to visit him since he could not travel alone, Pope wrote on Nov. 11 [1740?], "to take my own John away for a week w^d destroy all my Pineapples for a whole Season" (Egerton MS., 1947, f. 67). Pope bequeathed him £100 for having "faithfully and ably served him." Serle drew "A Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden, As it was left at his Death; with a Plan and Perspective View of the Grotto," which was published by Doddsley in 1745.

SETTLE, Ekanah (1643-1724). *Ep.* ii, 417. Poet and dramatist. Settle was appointed City Poet in 1691, that is, he was commissioned to prepare pageants for the Lord Mayor's show. In 1702 he had written a poem entitled *Æsop's Triumph* in praise of the act which attempted to secure the Hanoverian succession. Although only a boy of fifteen, Pope chose this occasion to attack him by writing his earliest surviving satire, *To the Author of a Poem entitled Success* (vol. vi). Settle also wrote birthday odes addressed to George I and the Prince of Wales in 1717. See *Dates and Index*.

SHEFFIELD, John, third Earl of Mulgrave, first Duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1648-1721). *Ep.* to Arbuthnot, 139. Lord Privy Seal, 1702; Lord President, 1710-14; Lord Justice of the regency, 1714. An edition of Buckingham's poetical works was published by Pope in 1723 (see Sherburne, pp. 219-28), who may have been introduced to him as early as 1706 (*ibid.*, p. 53). His verses *On Mr. Pope and his Poem* are given pride of place in the 1717 folio. Pope's note on E on C 723 mentions his acquaintance with Dryden, which began about the year 1673 (*Dryden's Poem*, 11-124). Dryden dedicated *Aurungzeb* to him (1675), and recorded in his prefatory epistle the value which he set upon the greatest of Buckingham's favours, his love and his conversation.

SHIPPEN, William (1673-1743). *Sat.* ii, 52; 1740, 16[7]. Leader of the Jacobite section in the House of Commons. His uniformity of principles and consistency of conduct were recognized by all; Walpole remarked of him, "I will not say who is corrupt, but I will say who is not, and that is Shippen" (Coxe, i 757).

SHREWSBURY, Duke of. See Talbot.

SLOANE, Sir Hans (1660-1753). *Donne*, iv 30. Secretary of the Royal Society, 1693-1712; President, 1727-41. Physician to Queen Anne and to George II, and President of the College, 1719-35. Two letters which survive of Pope's correspondence with Sloane (March 30 and May 22, 1742) show that they were distantly acquainted: Sloane had given Pope "two joints of the Giants' Causeway" for his grutto, and invited him to inspect his famous collection. See Pope's note to *Moral Es.* iv 10.

SMYTHE, James Moore (1702-1734). *Ep.* to Arbuthnot, 23, 98, 373, 385. The son of Arthur Moore (q.v.). He adopted his maternal grandfather's surname on being left the bulk of his property at his death. Pope had given him permission to incorporate certain unpublished verses (now *Moral Es.* ii 245-8) in his comedy, *The Rival Modes* (1727). This permission was later withdrawn, but Moore Smythe refused to erase the verses and so earned his place in the *Dunciad*. He was foolhardy enough to retort, and collaborated with his fellow-victim, Welsted, in *One Epistle to Mr. Pope* (1730), a title suggested by Edward Young's recently published *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope*. Pope used the *Grub-Street*

Journal to continue his chastisement, various squibs on Moore Smythe being scattered over numbers 19-29, published in May and July 1730. (See vol. vi.) The references in the *Ep. to Arbuthnot* are the backwash of the squabble. Moore Smythe was already dead, as Lady Mary was quick to remark. She wrote to Arbuthnot on Jan. 3, 1735, "Can anything be more detestable than his abusing poor Moore, scarce cold in his grave, when it is plain he kept back his poem, while he lived, for fear he should beat him?" A fantastic allegation. For a more detailed account of the origin of the quarrel, see *Dunciad*, vol. v.

SOMERS, John, Baron Somers (1651-1716). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 139; *Dia.* ii 77. Lord Keeper, 1693; Lord Chancellor, 1697. He was the virtual head of the Whig party during the early years of Anne's reign. Although Macaulay's panegyric in the twentieth chapter of his *History* is over-wrought, Somers's "sagacity, industry, and disinterestedness are undeniable"; and "his vast erudition and knowledge of affairs placed him at his ease with men of the most diverse interests and occupations" (DNB). Pope mentions Somers amongst those who encouraged him in writing the *Pastorals* (*Spring*, l. 16); there is no reason to question the early date given for the commencement of their friendship. Little is known of his acquaintance with Dryden. They were associated in the 1688 edition of *Paradise Lost*, which Tonson dedicated to Somers and for which Dryden wrote the Lines on the Engraved Portrait of Milton; and they were also associated in the *Plutarch* (1684), for which Somers translated one of the lives and Dryden contributed a preface. Somers paid five guineas in 1697 to supply one of the illustrations in Dryden's *Virgil*. On November 26, 1699, Dryden wrote to Mrs Steward and mentioned that the Chancellor was his enemy; whether this refers to a temporary or permanent estrangement is uncertain.

SOUTHERNE, Thomas (1660-1746). *Ep.* ii 186. Dramatist. His contemporary reputation for "pathetic" tragedy was based upon *The Fatal Marriage*, 1694, and *Oroonoko*, 1696. Southerne was one of Pope's earliest friends, though little is known of their acquaintance. The lines which Pope wrote for Southerne on his birthday in 1742 are printed in vol. vi.

SPENCER, Charles, Duke of Marlborough (1706-1758). 1740, 62. Grandson of the great Duke. He hoped to please his grandmother by opposition to the court and emphasized it by support of the Prince of Wales, but in 1738 he changed his allegiance and was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber. Lord Steward of the Household, 1749. Lord Privy Seal, 1755. His abilities appear to have been moderate.

STAIR, Earl of. See Dalrymple.

STANHOPE, James, first Earl Stanhope (1673-1721). *Dia.* ii 80. Commander of the British forces in Spain, 1708. Secretary of State, 1714. At the Whig

schism of 1717. Stanhope allied himself with Sunderland against Townshend and Walpole. He became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, an office which he surrendered to Aislabie in 1718 while he resumed the Secretaryship. He died at the height of the South Sea troubles, while taking part in the Lords' proceedings against those guilty of corruption. Lecky describes him (1960) as "a high-minded as well as brave and liberal man, well skilled in military matters and in foreign policy, and of that frank and straightforward character which often succeeds better in public life . . . than the most refined cunning, but without much administrative or parliamentary ability, and wholly unfit to manage the finances of the country." Nothing is known of his acquaintance with Pope, beyond Pope's acknowledgement in the preface to *The Hind* that Stanhope had been "pleas'd to promote this Affair" (*Prose Works*, i 255).

STANHOPE, Philip Dormer, fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773). *Dia.* ii 84; 1740, 25. Ambassador at the Hague, 1728-32. Lord Steward of the Household, 1730-3. He was dismissed because of his hostility to the Excise Bill, and thereupon became one of Walpole's most notable opponents in the House of Lords. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1745-6. Secretary of State, 1746-8. He was responsible for the reformation of the calendar in 1751.

Pope and Chesterfield had been acquainted since 1717 or earlier (see Pope's letter to Gay, Nov. 8, 1717), but the extent of their friendship is not certainly known. Chesterfield had stayed with Pope at Twickenham, and seems to have been a witness of his private charities. Of his respect for Pope there can be no doubt: "for my own part," he told his son (Oct. 9, 1747) "I used to think myself in company as much above me, when I was with Mr. Addison and Mr. Pope, as if I had been with all the Princes in Europe."

SUTTON, Richard (d. 1737). *Donne*, ii 36. Governor of Hull, and of Guernsey, 1733. M.P. Newark, 1708-10, 1712-35. Lieutenant General, 1735. Sutton was spoken of as a favourite of Bolingbroke in Queen Anne's reign, but he is later found supporting Walpole's government. After noting his death, Egmont mentions that he was known as "Satan, Governor of Hell," and reflects, "He was indeed an atheistical, debauched man."

SUTTON, Sir Robert (1672-1746). *Dia.* i 16. Knighted, 1701. Successively ambassador at Constantinople, the Hague, and Paris. K.B., 1725. M.P. North County, 1722-32; Great Grimsby, 1734-36. Sutton was one of the directors of the Charitable Corporation found guilty of embezzlement. As a result of the inquiry he was expelled from the House of Commons on May 4, 1732. Warburton, who had enjoyed Sutton's patronage, convinced Pope that Sutton had been misused, and induced him to withdraw his satirical references. Croker (EC iii 140) states that Sutton was intended for the church and went so far as to take deacon's orders; hence "*reverend* Sutton." (Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*; Beason; Egmont, i 268).

SWIFT, Jonathan (1667-1731). *Dunster*, 1729. *Black not* 13^h, 275; *II* 111-23; *III* 111-13; *IV* 111-13. Pope first met Swift about the year 1712, when Swift was at the height of his fame as a Tory pamphleteer in connection with the Oxford and the Tories of the time. Swift then found a home in the household of Pope, one of the members of the Scribler Club, and in 1713 he was appointed Secretary of the Admiralty. But in 1715 Swift was appointed to the Admiralty, and in 1716 he was appointed to the Admiralty. His friendship with Pope was not interrupted, and the two friends continued to correspond until Swift's illness prevented him from corresponding any more. See further vol. v.

TALBOT, Charles, twelfth Earl and only Duke of Shrewsbury (1660-1718). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 139; *Dia.* ii 70. After taking a prominent part in inviting William of Orange to England, Shrewsbury was appointed Secretary of State in 1689. He resigned office the next year but was induced to reaccept it in 1691. After begging to be allowed to retire, he was appointed to the less responsible post of Lord Chamberlain in 1699, this office he also resigned in the following year and left England. He returned to court in 1700, succeeding Kent as Lord Chamberlain in 1710. In 1712 he was appointed ambassador to France in order to accelerate the peace, and on his recall was sent as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland in 1713. He still retained this post when he was appointed to succeed Oxford as Lord Treasurer shortly before Queen Anne's death. This position was one of paramount responsibility, and it is largely owing to Shrewsbury that the Protestant succession was secured. Under George I Shrewsbury resigned his treasurership and his Lord-Lieutenancy, but retained his post of Lord Chamberlain until 1715. His distaste for political work is shown not only by his frequent retirements but also by a famous letter which he wrote to Somers in 1700-- "I wonder how any man who has bread in England, will be concerned in business of State. Had I a son, I would sooner bind him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman" (Lecky, i 72). His charm of manner is testified by many writers; Swift, for example, wrote in *Examiner*, No. 26, that he "hath ever been the Favourite of the Nation."

It is not known when Pope first met Shrewsbury. He may have been introduced by Walsh. In 1715 Pope sent him the first state of the *Universal Prayer* (see vol. vi, and Sherburne, p. 61), and paid him a visit in 1717 (Pope to Caryll,

ANDERSON, John (1693-1754) *Ep. i* vi 11. Dutton here, see Pope's *Ep. i* vi 11. Anderson had been a student at Shrewsbury and was a friend of Pope's. He was a member of the London Academy.

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THEOBALD, Lewis (1688-1744) *Ep. i* vi 11. Dutton here, see Pope's *Ep. i* vi 11. Theobald was a scholar and dramatist who supported himself by translating from the Greek and hack work for the stage. He incurred Pope's anger by publishing in 1726 *Shakespeare restored, or, a Specimen of the Many Errors as well Committed, as Un-omitted, by Mr. Pope in his late Edition of this Poet*, a volume in which Pope's poetry is praised and his critical work is damned. Pope revenged himself by making Theobald king of the Dunces: see vol. v, which contains a more detailed account of Pope's relations with Theobald. Theobald published his own edition of Shakespeare in 1744.

TINDAL, Matthew (1657-1733) *Ep. i* vi 11. A deist, author of *Christianity as*

old as the *Credit* 1735, which was noted for its "satirical and political" character, was superfluous, "unable in effect to state anything new or to do anything better than to echo Stephen in DNB. In 1844 it was reprinted by the Low Church Colour. As to his morals, Hearne called him a "famous liar" and a "noted Debauchee." *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* 1899. His personal relations were always intemperate. And he had once been expelled from the University of Rome, and his detection may have injured Pope's mission to that city. See *Dunciad*, *Annals* and Pope's note.

TOWNSHEND, Charles, second Viscount 1674-1737. An English statesman. After his resignation in 1733, he lived at Woburn, and as ascendancy. Townshend retired to his country estate at Woburn, and devoted himself to agricultural experiments. In 1737, he published his "introduction of turnip culture on a large scale," which was without it the subsequent developments in the field. It is difficult to see how it was been impossible. (DNB). Turnips had however been known in England as early as 1694 (A. Toynbee, *Lectures on the Improvement of the Soil*, p. 10).

TYRAWLEY, Baron. See O'Hara.

TYRCONNELL, Viscount. See Brownlow.

VANBRUGH, Sir John (1664-1726). *Ep.* ii 229. Comic dramatist and architect. *The Provoked Wife*, 1697, and *The Confederates*, 1703, which are occasionally revived, have something of the burliness of Fielding. His principal architectural works are Castle Howard, 1701-14; Blenheim Palace, Woodstock, 1705-24; and the Clarendon Building, Oxford, 1711, which he designed with Nicholas Hawksmoor. The "heaviness" of his style has been one of the commonplaces of architectural criticism from his day to ours. It does not appear that Pope was intimate with Vanbrugh. In conversation with Spence his praise of Vanbrugh's writing was unqualified. "None of our writers have a freer easier way for comedy than Etherege and Vanbrugh." And later he remarked, "Garth, Vanbrugh and Congreve, were the three most honest hearted, real good men, of the poetical members of the kit-cat club" (p. 46).

VANNECK, Joshua (d. 1777). *Ep.* ii 229. Born at the Hague. He came to London in 1722 and entered into partnership with his brother Gerard, who had settled there in 1718. The two men amassed great fortunes, Gerard leaving a large proportion of his to his brother on his death in 1750. His will was published in the *Genl. Mag.* (vol. xx, p. 393); at the end of it he recommended his brother "ever to prefer justice and honour to profit and lucre, and a good repute to the desire of riches." Joshua was created a Baronet in 1751.

In the autumn of 1738 one of the brothers entered into negotiation with Bolingbroke for the purchase of Dawley Farm, which had cost him about £25,000, and which he was willing to sell for £5,000. Pope wrote to Lord Orrery (Oct. 19, 1738) expressing the hope that Orrery would buy it for that

[illegible][illegible]

WALPOLE, Sir R. Gent. first Earl of Dorset 1676-1743. Vol. II. 153. *Dorset*
 in 1743 ff. 86. ff. 20. ff. 12. ff. 113. ff. 140. 164. 178. 42. ff. Whig
 statesman (with materials) 1. 15. 12. 1. 41. 42.

Although Pope consistently attacked Walpole's government and not infrequently made covert allusions to Walpole himself (*Moral Essays* in 1709, 136, iv 16); he attempted when mentioning his name to distinguish between the politician and the poet for he considered himself in Walpole's debt ever since Walpole had exerted himself to procure a French abbey for Southcote (*Diss.* i 278). Yet even these compliments are tainted with innuendo: Pope countenances the perversion of a remark of Walpole's "All men have their price" (*Diss.* i 34), and though he commends his social distinctions, he refers in the next line to the notorious infidelities of Lady Walpole (*Diss.* ii 195). The account of Peterborough bringing Walpole to Twickenham, which Pope wrote to Forster on Sept. 23, 1725, reads like the account of a first meeting, and in

subsequent years we hear of a dinner party (EC ix 107), the exchange of visits, and the presentation of a copy of *The Dunciad* by Walpole to the King in 1729. It is surprising that Pope and Walpole reached even the degree of intimacy which these suggest. See *Dia.* ii 146-7.

WALSH, William (1663-1708). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 136. Poet and critic. Whig M.P. and gentleman of the horse to Queen Anne. He was one of Pope's earliest friends and is commended in the *Essay on Criticism*, l. 729 and Pope's note to the first line of the first *Pastoral*. He was well acquainted with Dryden, who wrote in the Postscript to his translation of Virgil that Walsh had "long honoured me with his friendship, and . . . without flattery, is the best critick of our nation" (*Dryden's Prose*, iii 563). Dryden also contributed a preface to Walsh's *Dialogue Concerning Women* (1691).

WALTER, Peter (1664?-1746). *Sat.* ii i 3, 40, 89; *Sat.* ii ii 168; *Dunciad*, ii 66 ff; *Ep.* ii i 197; *Dia.* i 121; ii 58; 1740, 26[?]. A "money scrivener," that is, "one who received money to place out at interest, and who supplied those who wanted to raise money on security" (OED). Clerk of the Peace for the county of Middlesex; Land Steward to the Duke of Newcastle. Walter lived at Stalbridge in Dorset, and acquired considerable property in the county. He represented Bridport in parliament from 1715 till 1727. At his death he is said to have been worth £300,000 (*Gent. Mag.* xvi, 45). He was the original of Fielding's *Peter Pounce* in *Joseph Andrews*.

Besides Pope and Fielding, Swift and Sir Charles Hanbury Williams (*Works*, i 37) have also given Walter an evil character. Thus Swift writes in his *Epistle to Mr Gay*, 1731, ll. 101-6:

Have Peter Waters always in your mind
That rogue, of genuine ministerial kind,
Can half the peerage by his arts bewitch,
Starve twenty lords to make one scoundrel rich,
And, when he gravely has undone a score,
Is humbly pray'd to ruin twenty more.

One of the peers he bewitched was the Earl of Essex, a protégé of Bolingbroke. He was engaged to be married to the Duke of Bedford's sister, but the family stopped the match until Essex promised, on Bolingbroke's extricating him from Walter's hands, to have no more to do with him (*Portland Papers, Hist. MSS. Comm.*, vii 422). See also Pope's note to *Moral Es.* iii 20.

WARD, John (d. 1755). *Dia.* i 119. Of Hackney. M.P. Weymouth, 1722-6. Having been convicted of forgery in the court of the King's Bench, he was expelled from the House of Commons on May 16, 1726. See further Pope's notes to *Moral Es.* iii 20 and *Dunciad*, B iii 34.

WARD, Joshua (1685-1761). *Ep.* ii i 182; i vi 56. A quack doctor who returned to England from France in 1754 with a patent drop and pill, with which he was

believed to have effected remarkable cures, in particular upon servants of Lord Clarendon at Rye. He was a friend of Henry J. Jackson, who collected the cure in public advertisements. Wat was patronized by the King, who allowed him a room in his almshouse at Whitehall. He also opened free hospitals for the poor in Pimlico and the city. He was said to be ignorant of medical knowledge and his medicines to be constituted largely of antimony. DNB.

WELSTED, Leonard (1686? 1747). *Life of Arbuthnot*, p. 375. Post-Clerk in the Secretary of State's office, and later in the ordinary office. The history of his quarrel with Pope is briefly summarized in the note to I. 375. See further *Dunston Index* and the preface to *Welsted's Works*, ed. J. Nichols, 1787.

WEST, John, first Earl De La Warr (1682-1766). *Duo.* i. 122, 1740, 59. An able supporter of Walpole's government in the House of Lords. Lord of the Bedchamber, 1725-7; Treasurer of the Household, 1731-7; chosen Speaker of the House of Lords, 1732. Colonel of the First Troop of Horse, 1737-66, serving as Brigadier-General at Dettingen. Lord Hervey speaks of his "long, lank, awkward person," and commenting on De La Warr's nomination as ambassador to the court of Saxo-Gotha to demand the Princess in marriage for the Prince of Wales, "I believe there could [not] be found in any of the Goth or Vandal courts of Germany a more unpolished ambassador for such an occasion" (*Memoirs*, p. 549). The following anecdote illustrates De La Warr's "gravity": "He dined at the Marquis [of Honour] table one day, and counted how many bottles of wine they drank less than was set down, I hope the under-butlers will toss him in a blanket" (The Countess of Pembroke to Mrs Clayton; Lady Sundon's *Memoirs*, 1847, 1240).

WILD, Jonathan (1682? 1725). *Duo.* ii 39, 54. Informer and receiver of stolen goods. His trial is reported in *State Trials*, 1742, ii 212-88.

WILMINGTON, Earl of. See Compton.

WINNINGTON, Thomas (1696-1746). 1740, 54[?]. Lord of the Admiralty, 1730-6; Lord of the Treasury, 1736-41; Cofferer of the Household, 1741-3; Paymaster general, 1743-6. One of Walpole's most hard-working and valued supporters. He was held in high esteem by Hervey (pp. 451-5) and Horace Walpole (letter to Mann, April 25, 1746).

WOODWARD, John (1663-1728). *Dunston*, iv 30, 152. F.R.S., 1693. A famous physician, geologist, and antiquary. His writings are said to contain much of permanent scientific interest, but the quaintness of certain of his opinions and the haughtiness of his temper estranged him from contemporary scientists and made him a butt of the wits. He is ridiculed as the character of Fossile in *Three Hours after Marriage*, 1717, by Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot, and in Ch. iii of the *Memoirs of Martin Scriblerus*.

WYNDHAM, Sir William (1687-1740). *Dia.* ii 38; 1740, Po. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1713-14. After George I's accession he remained in parliament to lead the Tory Opposition, and to expound the policy of Bolingbroke with whom he was in constant communication. His death at the moment when the Opposition's plans to defeat Walpole seemed almost mature was regarded as a grave misfortune: Pope wrote to Marchmont on June 22, 1740, "God Almighty certainly knows what he does when he removes those from us whose lives we pray for, and leaves behind those scourges which a meretricious people deserve." Lord Hervey, a political opponent, wrote of Wyndham, "He was far from having first-rate parts, but by a gentleman-like general behaviour and constant attendance in the House of Commons, a close application to the business of it, and frequent speaking, he had got a sort of parliamentary routine, and without being a bright speaker was a popular one, well heard, and useful to his party" (*Memoirs*, p. 21). Later estimates have been more favourable: John Morley described him as "one of the most respectable figures of his age . . . a statesman endowed with firmness, dignity, modesty, and the gift . . . of imposing his authority upon his hearers" (*Walpole*, 1889, p. 76-7).

YONGE, Sir William (d. 1755). *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, 280; *Dia.* i 13, 68; 1740, 54. A prominent Whig politician; Secretary for War, 1735. Lord Hervey, whose politics were Whig also, wrote of him, "Without having done anything that I know of remarkably profligate—anything out of the common track of a ductile courtier and a parliamentary tool [of Walpole]—his name was proverbially used to express everything pitiful, corrupt, and contemptible. It is true he was a great liar, but rather a mean than a vicious one. He had been always constant to the same party, was good-natured and good-humoured, never offensive in company, nobody's friend, nobody's enemy. He had no wit in private conversation, but was remarkably quick in taking hints to harangue upon in Parliament. He had a knack of words there that was surprising, considering how little use they were to him anywhere else. He had a great command of what is called parliamentary language and a talent of talking eloquently without a meaning and expatiating agreeably upon nothing beyond any man, I believe, that ever had the gift of speech" (*Memoirs*, p. 36), a character which is corroborated by Horace Walpole (*Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, 1847, i 23). So far as is known Pope bore him no personal grudge; his was merely, as Hervey says, a name "proverbially used to express everything pitiful, corrupt, and contemptible."

YORKE, Philip, first Earl of Hardwicke (1690-1764). 1740, 64. Entered parliament as Whig member for Lewes, 1719. Solicitor General, 1720-4. Attorney General, 1724-33. Lord Chief Justice, 1733-7. Lord Chancellor, 1737-56. Hardwicke was the most able exponent of government policy in the House of Lords during the last troubled years of Walpole's administration. His great achievements in the office of Lord Chancellor belong to a later period. There is no evidence to show that he knew Pope.

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